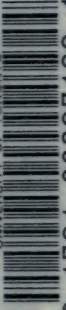



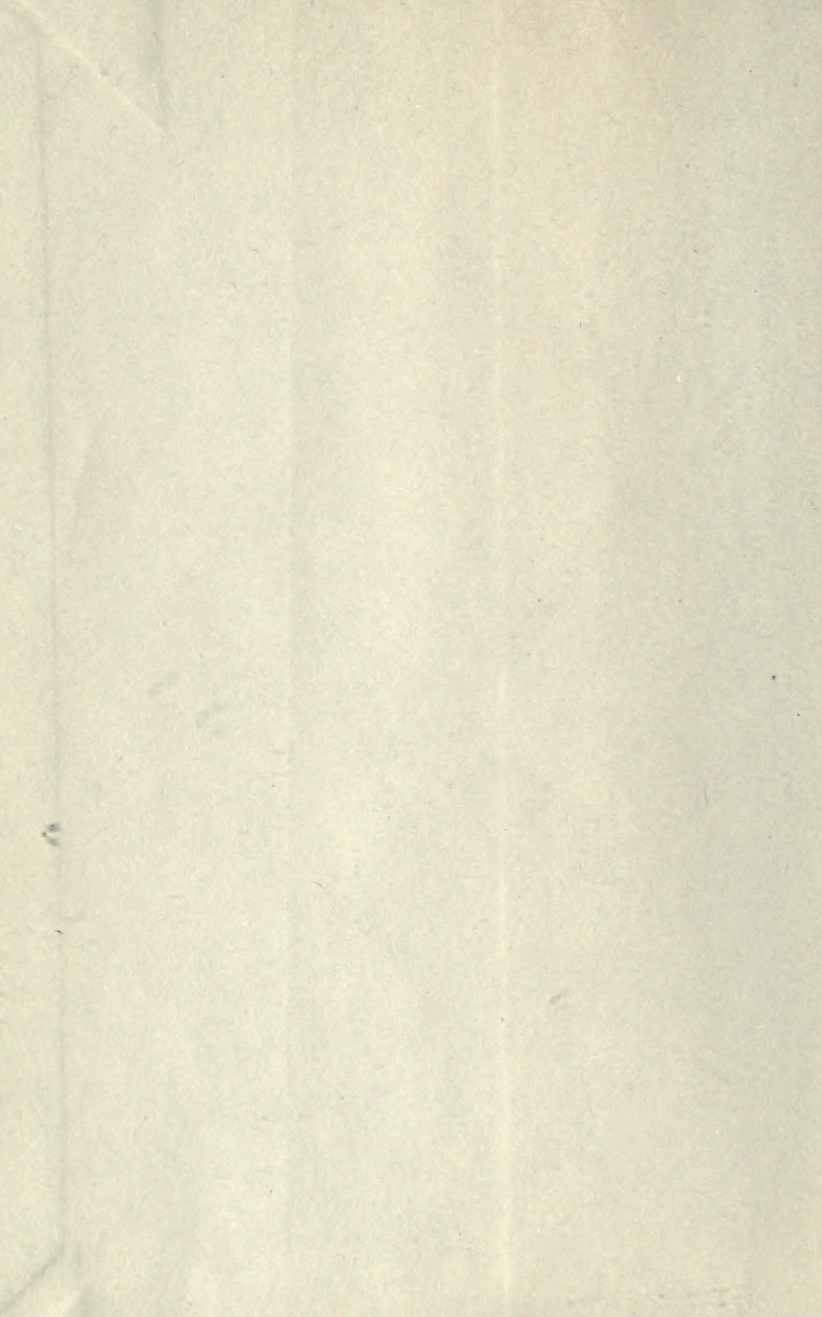
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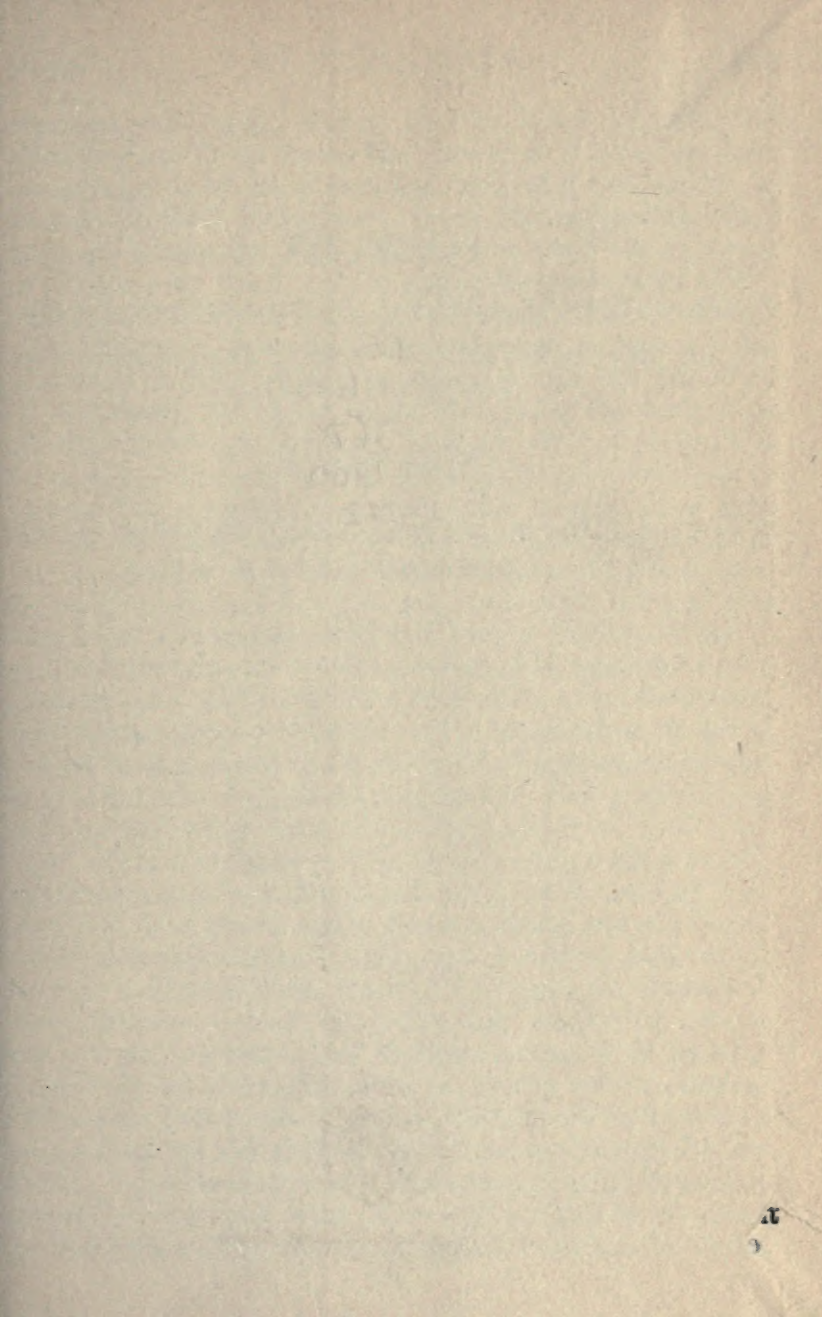
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BOOK IV.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-EIGHT YEARS.

[FROM THE REJECTION OF THAT GENERATION TO THE
DEATH OF MOSES.]

CHAPTER I.

*The fight of the Hebrews with the Canaanites, without
the consent of Moses, and their defeat.*

1. Now this life of the Hebrews in the wilderness was so disagreeable and troublesome to them, that they were so uneasy at it, that although God had forbidden them to meddle with the Canaanites, yet could they not be persuaded to be obedient to the words of Moses, and to be quiet; but supposing they should be able to beat their enemies, even without his approbation, they accused him, and suspected that he made it his business to keep them in a distressed condition, that they might always stand in need of his assistance. Accordingly, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, and said, that God gave them his assistance, not out of regard to Moses' intercessions, but because he took care of their entire nation, on account of their forefathers, whose affairs he took under his own conduct; as also, that it was on account of their own virtue that he had formerly procured them their liberty, and would be assisting to them, now they were willing to take pains for it. They also said, that they were of themselves of abilities sufficient for the conquest of their

enemies, although Moses should have a mind to alienate God from them: that however it was for their advantage to be their own masters, and not so far to rejoice in their deliverance from the indignities they endured under the Egyptians, as to bear the tyranny of Moses over them, and to suffer themselves to be deluded, and to live according to his pleasure, as though God did only foretell what concerns us out of his kindness to him, as if they were not all the posterity of Abraham, that God made him alone the author of all the knowledge we have, and we must still learn it from him: That it would be a piece of prudence to oppose his arrogant pretences, and to put their confidence in God, and to resolve to take possession of that land which he had promised them, and not to give ear to him, who on this account, and under the pretence of divine authority, forbade them so to do. Considering therefore the distressed state they were in at present, and that in these desert places they were still to expect things would be worse with them, they resolved to fight with the Canaanites, as submitting only to God, their supreme commander, and not waiting for any assistance from their legislator.

2. When therefore they had come to this resolution, as being best for them, they went among their enemies; but those enemies were not dismayed either at the attack itself, or at the great multitude that made it, and received them with great courage. Many of the Hebrews were slain; and the remainder of the army, upon the disorder of their troops, were pursued and fled, after a shameful manner, to their camp. Whereupon this unexpected misfortune made them quite despond: and they hoped for nothing that was good, as gathering from it, that this affliction came from the wrath of God, because they rashly went out to war without his approbation.

3. But when Moses saw how deeply they were affected with this defeat, and being afraid lest the enemies should grow insolent upon this victory, and should be desirous of gaining still greater glory, and should attack them, resolved that it was proper to withdraw the army into the wilderness, to a farther distance from the Canaanites; so the multitude gave themselves up again to his conduct; for they were sensible, that without his care for them, their affairs could not be in a good condition; and he caused the host to remove, and he went farther into the wilderness, as intending there to let them rest, and not to permit them to fight the Canaanites before God should afford them a more favourable opportunity.

CHAPTER II.

The sedition of Corah, and of the multitude, against Moses and against his brother, concerning the Priesthood.

1. THAT which is usually the case of great armies, and especially upon ill success, to be hard to be pleased, and governed with difficulty, did now befall the Jews; for they being in number six hundred thousand, and by reason of their great multitude not readily subject to their governors, even in prosperity, they at this time were more than usually angry both against one another, and against their leader, because of the distress they were in, and the calamities they then endured. Such a sedition overtook them, as we have not the like example either among the Greeks or the Barbarians, by which they were in danger of being all destroyed; but were, notwithstanding, saved by Moses, who would not remember that he had been almost

stoned to death by them. Nor did God neglect to prevent their ruin, but notwithstanding the indignities they had offered their legislator, and the laws, and their disobedience to the commandments which he had sent them by Moses, he delivered them from those terrible calamities, which, without his providential care, had been brought upon them by this sedition. So will I first explain the cause whence this sedition arose, and then will give an account of the sedition itself; as also of what settlements Moses made for their government, after it was over.

2. Corah, an Hebrew of principal account, both by his family and by his wealth, one that was also able to speak well, and one that could easily persuade the people by his speeches, saw that Moses was in an exceeding great dignity, and was uneasy at it, and envied him on that account, (he was of the same tribe with Moses, and of kin to him,) was particularly grieved, because he thought he better deserved that honourable post on account of his great riches, and not inferior to him in his birth. So he raised a clamour against him among the Levites, who were of the same tribe, and especially among his kindred saying, "That it was a very sad thing that they should overlook Moses, while he hunted after and paved the way to glory for himself, and by ill arts should obtain it, under the pretence of God's command; while contrary to the laws, he had given the priesthood to Aaron, not by the common suffrage of the multitude, but by his own vote, as bestowing dignities in a tyrannical way on whom he pleased. He added, that this concealed way of imposing on them was harder to be borne, than if it had been done by an open force upon them, because he did now not only take away their power without their consent, but even while they were unapprized of his contrivances against them; for whosoever is con-

scious to himself that he deserves any dignity; aims to get it by persuasion, and not by an arrogant method of violence; but those that believe it impossible to obtain those honours justly, they make a show of goodness, and do not introduce force, but by cunning tricks grow wickedly powerful; That it was proper for the multitude to punish such men, even while they think themselves concealed in their designs, and not suffer them to gain strength, till they have them for their open enemies. For what account, added he, is Moses able to give why he has bestowed the priesthood on Aaron, and his sons? for if God had determined to bestow that honour on one of the tribe of Levi, I am more worthy of it than he is, I myself being equal to Moses by my family; and superior to him both in riches, and in my age; but if God had determined to bestow it on the eldest tribe, that of Reubel might have it most justly; and then Dathan and Abiram, and [On the son of] Peleth, would have it, for these are the oldest men of that tribe, and potent on account of their great wealth also."

3. Now Corah, when he said this, had a mind to appear to take care of the public welfare, but in reality he was endeavouring to procure to have that dignity transferred by the multitude to himself. Thus did he out of a malignant design, but with plausible words, discourse to those of his own tribe; and when these words did gradually spread to more of the people, and when the hearers still added to what tended to the scandals that were cast upon Aaron, the whole army was full of them. Now of those that conspired with Corah, there were two hundred and fifty, and those of the principal men also, who were eager to have the priesthood taken away from Moses' brother, and to bring him into disgrace: Nay, the multitude themselves were provoked to be seditious, and attempted to stone

Moses; and gathered themselves together after an indecent manner, with confusion and disorder. And now they all were in a tumultuous manner, raising a clamour before the tabernacle of God, to prosecute the tyrant, and to relieve the multitude from their slavery under him, who, under colour of the divine commands, laid violent injunctions upon them; for that had it been God, who chose one that was to perform the office of a priest, he would have raised a worthy person to that dignity, and would not have produced such an one as was inferior to many others, nor have given him that office; and in that case, had he judged it fit to bestow it on Aaron, he would have permitted it to the multitude to bestow it, and not have left it to be bestowed by his own brother.

4. Now, although Moses had a great while ago foreseen this calumny of Corah's, and had seen that the people were irritated, yet was he not affrighted at it; but being of good courage, because he had given them right advice about their affairs, and knowing that his brother had been made partaker of the priesthood at the command of God; and not by his own favour to him, he came to the assembly; and, as for the multitude, he said not a word to them, but spake as loud to Corah as he could; and being very skilful in making speeches, and having this natural talent among others that he could greatly move the multitude with his discourses, he said, "O Corah, both thou, and all these with thee, (pointing to the two hundred and fifty men,) seem to be worthy of this honour; nor do I pretend but that this whole company may be worthy of the like dignity; although they may not be so rich, or so great as you are: Nor have I taken and given this office to my brother, because he excelled others in riches, for thou exceedest us both in the greatness of thy wealth; nor indeed because he

was of an eminent family, for God, by giving us the same common ancestor, has made our families equal; nay, nor was it out of brotherly affection, which another might yet have justly done; for certainly, unless I had bestowed this honour out of regard to God, and to his laws, I had not passed by myself, and given it to another, as being nearer of kin to myself than to my brother, and having a closer intimacy with myself than I have with him; for surely it would not be a wise thing for me, to expose myself to the dangers of offending, and to bestow the happy employment on this account upon another. But I am above such base practices: Nor would God have overlooked this matter, and seen himself thus despised, nor would he have suffered you to be ignorant of what you were to do, in order to please him; but he hath himself chosen one that is to perform that sacred office to him, and thereby freed us from that care. So that it was not a thing that I pretend to give, but only according to the determination of God: I therefore propose it still to be contended for by such as please to put in for it, only desiring, that he who has been already preferred and has already obtained it, may be allowed now also to offer himself for a candidate. He prefers your peace, and your living without sedition, to this honourable employment, although in truth it was with your approbation that he obtained it; for though God were the donor, yet do we not offend when we think fit to accept of it with your good-will; yet would it have been an instance of impiety not to have taken that honourable employment when he offered it: nay, it had been exceeding unreasonable, when God had thought fit any one should have it for all time to come, and had made it secure and firm to him, to have refused it. However, he himself will judge again who it shall be

whom he would have to offer sacrifices to him, and to have the direction of matters of religion; for it is absurd that Corah, who is ambitious of this honour, should deprive God of the power of giving it to whom he pleases. Put an end therefore to your sedition and disturbance on this account: and to-morrow morning do every one of you that desire the priesthood bring a censer from home, and come hither with incense and fire: And do thou, O Corah, leave the judgment to God, and await to see on which side he will give his determination upon this occasion, but do not thou make thyself greater than God. Do thou also come, that this contest about this employment may receive determination. And I suppose we may admit Aaron without offence, to offer himself to this scrutiny, since he is of the same lineage with thyself, and has done nothing in his priesthood that can be liable to exception. Come ye therefore together, and offer your incense in public before all the people; and when you offer it, he whose sacrifice God shall accept, shall be ordained to the priesthood, and shall be clear of the present calumny on Aaron, as if I had granted him that favour because he was my brother."

CHAPTER III.

How those that stirred up this sedition were destroyed according to the will of God: and how Aaron, Moses' brother, both he and his posterity retained the priesthood.

1. WHEN Moses had said this, the multitude left off the turbulent behaviour they had indulged, and the suspicion they had of Moses, and commended what he had said, for those proposals were good, and

so were esteemed of the people. At that time therefore they dissolved the Assembly. But on the next day they came to the congregation in order to be present at the sacrifice, and at the determination that was to be made between the candidates for the priesthood. Now this congregation proved a turbulent one, and the multitude were in great suspense in expectation of what was to be done: for some of them would have been pleased if Moses had been convicted of evil practices, but the wiser sort desired that they might be delivered from the present disorder and disturbance: for they were afraid, that if this seditious went on, the good order of their settlement would rather be destroyed; but the whole body of the people do naturally delight in clamours against their governors, and by changing their opinions upon the harangues of every speaker, disturb the public tranquillity. And now Moses sent messengers for Abiram and Dathan, and ordered them to come to the assembly, and wait there for the holy offices that were to be performed. But they answered the messengers that they would not obey his summons; nay, would not overlook Moses' behaviour, who was growing too great for them by evil practices. Now when Moses heard of this their answer, he desired the heads of the people to follow him, and he went to the faction of Dathan, not thinking it any frightful thing at all to go to these insolent people; so they made no opposition, but went along with him. But Dathan and his associates, when they understood that Moses and the principal of the people were coming to them, they came out with their wives and children, and stood before their tents, and looked to see what Moses would do. They had also their servants about them to defend themselves, in case Moses should use force against them.

2. But he came near, and lifted up his hands to heaven, and cried out with a loud voice, in order to be heard by the whole multitude; and said, "O Lord of the creatures that are in the heaven, in the earth, and in the sea; for thou art the most authentic witness to what I have done, that it has all been done by thy appointment, and that it was thou that affordedst us assistance when we attempted any thing, and showedst mercy on the Hebrews in all their distresses, do thou come now, and hear all that I say, for no action nor thought escapes thy knowledge; so that thou wilt not disdain to speak what is true, for my vindication, without any regard to the ungrateful imputations of these men. As for what was done before I was born, thou knowest best, as not learning them by report, but seeing them, and being present with them when they were done; but for what has been done of late, and which these men, although they know them well enough, unjustly pretend to suspect, be thou my witness. When I lived a private quiet life, I left those good things, which by my own diligence, and by thy counsel, I enjoyed with Raguel my father-in-law, and I gave myself up to this people, and underwent many miseries on their account. I also bore great labours at first, in order to obtain liberty for them, and now, in order to their preservation; and have always showed myself ready to assist them in every distress of theirs. Now, therefore, since I am suspected by those very men, whose being is owing to my labours, come thou, as it is reasonable to hope thou wilt: thou, I say, who showedst me that first at mount Sinai, and madest me hear its voice, and to see the several wonders which that place afforded me: thou who commandest me to go to Egypt, and declare thy will to this people: thou who disturbedst the happy estate of the Egyptians,

and gavest us the opportunity of flying away from our slavery under them, and madest the dominion of Pharaoh inferior to my dominion: thou who didst make the sea dry land for us, when we knew no whither to go, and didst overwhelm the Egyptians with those destructive waves which had been divided for us: thou who didst bestow upon us the security of weapons when we were naked: thou who didst make the fountains that were corrupted to flow so as to be fit for drinking, and didst furnish us with water that came out of the rocks, when we were in the greatest want of it: thou who didst preserve our lives with [quails,] which was food from the sea, when the fruits of the ground failed us: thou who didst send us such food from heaven, as had never been seen before: thou who didst suggest to us the knowledge of thy laws, and appoint us a form of government; come thou, I say, O Lord of the whole world, and that as such a judge and a witness to me as cannot be bribed, and show how I have never admitted of any gift against justice from any of the Hebrews; and have never condemned a poor man that ought to have been acquitted, on account of one that was rich; and have never attempted to hurt this commonwealth. I am now here present, and am suspected of a thing, the remotest from my intentions, as if I had given the priesthood to Aaron, not at thy command, but out of my own favour to him, do thou at this time demonstrate, that all things are administered by thy providence, and that nothing happens by chance, but is governed by thy will, and thereby attains its end: as also demonstrate, that thou takest care of those that have done good to the Hebrews, demonstrate this, I say, by the punishment of Abiram and Dathan, who condemn thee as an insensible being, and one overcome by my contrivances.

This wilt thou do by inflicting such an open punishment on these men, who so madly fly in the face of thy glory, as will take them out of the world, not in an ordinary manner, but so that it may appear they do not die after the manner of other men; let that ground on which they tread upon, open about them, and consume them with their families and goods. This will be a demonstration of thy power to all men; and this method of their sufferings will be an instruction of wisdom for those that entertain profane sentiments of thee. By this means I shall be found a good servant, in the precepts thou hast given by me. But if the calumnies they have raised against me be true, mayest thou preserve these men from every evil accident, and bring all that destruction on me which I have imprecated upon them. And when thou hast inflicted punishment on those that have endeavoured to deal unjustly with this people, bestow upon them concord and peace. Save this multitude that follow thy commandments, and preserve them free from harm, and let them not partake of the punishment of those that have sinned; for thou knowest thyself, it is not just, that for the wickedness of those men, the whole body of the Israelites should suffer punishment."

3. When Moses had said this, with tears in his eyes, the ground was moved on a sudden; and the agitation that set it in motion was like that which the wind produces in waves of the sea. The people were all affrighted, and the ground that was about their tents sunk down, at the great noise of that terrible sound, and carried whatsoever was dear to the seditious into itself, who so entirely perished, that there was not the least appearance that any man had ever been seen there, the earth that had opened itself about them, closing again, and becoming entire as it

was before, insomuch that such as saw it afterward did not perceive that any such accident had happened to it. Thus did these men perish, and become a demonstration of the power of God. And truly, any one would lament them, not only on account of this calamity that befell them, which yet deserves our commiseration, but also because their kindred were pleased with their sufferings; for they forgot the relation they bare to them, and at the sight of this sad accident approved of the judgment given against them; and because they looked upon the people about Dathan as pestilent men, they thought they perished as such, and did not grieve for them.

4. And now Moses called for those that contended about the priesthood, that trial might be made who should be priest, and that he whose sacrifice God was most pleased with might be ordained to that function. There attended two hundred and fifty men, who indeed were honoured by the people, not only on account of the power of their ancestors, but also on account of their own, in which they excelled the others: Aaron also and Corah came forth, and they all offered incense, in those censers of theirs which they brought with them, before the tabernacle. Hereupon so great a fire shone out as no one ever saw in any that is made by the hand of man, neither in those eruptions out of the earth that are caused by subterraneous burnings, nor in such fires as arise of their own accord in the woods, when the agitation is caused by the trees rubbing one against another, but this fire was very bright, and had a terrible flame, such as is kindled at the command of God; by whose eruption on them, all the company, and Corah himself, were ¹ destroyed, and this so entirely, that their

¹ It appears here, and from the Samaritan Pentateuch, and in effect, from the Psalmist, as also from the apostolical constitutions, from

very bodies left no remains behind them. Aaron alone was preserved, and not at all hurt by the fire, because it was God that sent the fire to burn those only who ought to be burned. Hereupon Moses after these men were destroyed, was desirous that the memory of this judgment might be delivered down to posterity, and that future ages might be acquainted with it; and so he commanded Eleazar, the son of Aaron, to put their censers near the brazen altar, that they might be a memorial to posterity of what these men suffered, for supposing that the power of God might be eluded. And thus Aaron was now no longer esteemed to have the priesthood by the favour of Moses, but by the public judgment of God; and thus he and his children peaceably enjoyed the honour afterwards.

CHAPTER IV.

What happened to the Hebrews during thirty-eight years in the wilderness.

1. HOWEVER, this sedition was so far from ceasing upon this destruction, that it grew much stronger, and became more intolerable. And the occasion of its growing worse was of that nature, as made it likely the calamity would never cease, but last for a long time: For the men believing already that nothing is done without the providence of God, would have it that these things came thus to pass not without God's favour to Moses; they therefore laid the blame upon him, that God was so angry, and that this happened not so much because of the wickedness

Clement's first epistle to the Corinthians, from Ignatius' epistle to the Magnesians, and from Eusebius, that Corah was not swallowed up with the Reubenites, but burnt with the Levites of his own tribe.

of those that were punished, as because Moses procured the punishment; and that these men had been destroyed without any sin of theirs, only because they were zealous about the divine worship; as also that he who had been the cause of this diminution of the people, by destroying so many men, and those the most excellent of them all, besides his escaping any punishment himself, had now given the priesthood to his brother so firmly, that nobody could any longer dispute it with him; for no one else, to be sure, could now put in for it, since he must have seen those that first did so to have miserably perished. Nay, besides this, the kindred of those that were destroyed made great entreaties to the multitude to abate the arrogance of Moses, because it would be safest for them so to do.

2. Now Moses, upon his hearing for a good while that the people were tumultuous, was afraid that they would attempt some other innovation, and that some great and sad calamity would be the consequence, he called the multitude, to a congregation, and patiently heard what apology they made for themselves, without opposing them, and this lest he should embitter the multitude: he only desired the heads of the tribes to bring their rods,¹ with the names of their tribes inscribed upon them, and that he should receive the priesthood in whose rod God should give a sign. This was agreed to. So the rest brought their rods, as did Aaron also, who had written the tribe of Levi, on his rod. These rods Moses laid up in the tabernacle of God. On the next day he brought out the rods, which were known from one another by those who brought them, they

¹ Concerning these twelve rods of the twelve tribes of Israel, see St. Clement's account, much larger than that in our Bibles, 1 Epist. sect. 45, as is Josephus' present account in some measure larger also.

having distinctly noted them, as had the multitude also; and as to the rest, in the same form Moses had received them, in that they saw them still, but they also saw buds and branches grown out of Aaron's rod, with ripe fruits upon them; they were almonds, the rod having been cut out of that tree. The people were so amazed at this strange sight, that though Moses and Aaron were before under some degree of hatred, they now laid that hatred aside, and began to admire the judgment of God concerning them; so that hereafter they applauded what God had decreed, and permitted Aaron to enjoy the priesthood peaceably. And thus God ordained him priest three several times; and he retained that honour without farther disturbance. And hereby this sedition of the Hebrews, which had been a great one, and had lasted a great while, was at last composed.

3. And now Moses, because the tribe of Levi was made free from war, and warlike expeditions, and was set apart for the divine worship, lest they should want, and seek after the necessaries of life, and so neglect the temple, commanded the Hebrews according to the will of God, that when they should gain the possession of the land of Canaan, they should assign forty-eight good and fair cities to the Levites; and permit them to enjoy their suburbs, as far as the limit of two thousand cubits would extend from the walls of the city. And besides this, he appointed that the people should pay the tithes of their annual fruits of the earth, both to the Levites, and to the priests. And this is what that tribe receives of the multitude; but I think it necessary to set down what is paid by all, peculiarly to the priests.

4. Accordingly he commanded the Levites to yield up to the priests thirteen of their forty-eight cities, and to set apart for them the tenth part of the tithes

which they every year receive of the people; as also, that it was but just to offer to God the first-fruits of the entire product of the ground, and that they should offer the first-born of those four-footed beasts that are appointed for sacrifices, if it be a male, to the priests, to be slain, that they and their entire families, may eat them in the holy city; but that the owners of those first-born which are not appointed for sacrifices in the laws of our country, should bring a shekel and a half in the stead; but for the first-born of a man, five shekels: that they should also have the first-fruits out of the shearing of the sheep; and that when any baked bread corn, and made loaves of it, they should give somewhat of what they had baked to them. Moreover when any have made a sacred vow, I mean those that are called *Nazarites*, that suffer their hair to grow long, and use no wine, when they ¹ consecrate their hair, and offer it for a sacrifice, they are to allot that hair for the priests, [to be thrown into the fire.] Such also as dedicate themselves to God, as a *corban*, which denotes what the Greeks call a *gift*, when they are desirous of being freed from that ministration, are to lay down money for the priests; thirty shekels, if it be a woman, and fifty if it be a man; but if any be too poor to pay the appointed sum, it shall be lawful for the priests to determine that sum as they think fit. And if any slay beasts at home for a private festival, but not for a religious one, they are obliged to bring the maw and the cheek, [or breast,] and the right shoulder of the sacrifice to the priests. With these Moses contrived that the priests should be plentifully maintained, besides what they had out of those offerings for sins, which the people gave them, as I

¹ Grotius on Num. vi. 18, takes notice, that the Greeks also, as well as the Jews, sometimes consecrated the hair of their heads to the gods.

have set it down in the foregoing book. He also ordered, that out of every thing allotted for the priests, their servants, [their sons,] their daughters, and their wives, should partake, as well as themselves, excepting what came to them out of the sacrifices that were offered for sins: for of those none but the males of the family of the priests might eat, and this in the temple also, and that the same day they were offered.

5. When Moses had made these constitutions, after the sedition was over, he removed, together with the whole army, and came to the borders of Idumea. He then sent ambassadors to the king of the Idumeans, and desired him to give him a passage through his country, and agreed to send him what hostages he should desire, to secure him from any injury. He desired him also, that he would allow his army liberty to buy provisions; and, if he insisted upon it, he would pay down a price for the very water they should drink. But the king was not pleased with this embassy from Moses: nor did he allow a passage for the army, but brought his people armed to meet Moses, and to hinder them, in case they should endeavour to force their passage. Upon which Moses consulted God by the oracle, who would not have him begin the war first; and so he withdrew his forces, and travelled round about through the wilderness.

6. Then it was that Mariam, the sister of Moses, came to her end, having completed ¹ her fortieth year since she left Egypt, on ² the first day of the lunar month Xanthicus. They then made a public funeral

¹ Josephus here uses this phrase, *when the fortieth year was completed*, for when it was begun; as does St. Luke, *when the day of pentecost was completed*, Acts ii. 1.

² Whether Mariam died, as Josephus' Greek copies imply, on the *first* day of the month, may be doubted, because the Latin copies say it was on the *tenth*, and so say the Jewish calendars also, as Dr. Bernard assures us.

for her, at a great expense. She was buried upon a certain mountain, which they call *Sin*; and when they had mourned for her thirty days, Moses purified the people after this manner: He brought an heifer, that had never been used to the plough, or to husbandry: that was complete in all its parts; and entirely of a red colour, at a little distance from the camp, into a place perfectly clean. This heifer was slain by the high priest, and her blood sprinkled with his finger, seven times, before the tabernacle of God; after this, the entire heifer was burnt in that state together with its skin and entrails, and they threw cedar wood, and hyssop, and scarlet wool, into the midst of the fire; then a clean man gathered all her ashes together, and laid them in a place perfectly clean. When therefore any persons were defiled, by a dead body, they put a little of these ashes in spring water, with hyssop, and dipping part of these ashes in it, they sprinkled them with it, both on the third day, and on the seventh, and after that they were clean. This he enjoined them to do also when the tribes should come into their own land.

7. Now when this purification, which their leader made upon the mourning for his sister, as it has been now described, was over, he caused the army to remove and to march through the wilderness, and through Arabia. And when he came to a place which the Arabians esteem their metropolis, which was formerly called *Arce*, but has now the name of *Petra*, at this place, which was encompassed with high mountains, Aaron went up one of them, in the sight of the whole army, Moses having before told him that he was to die, for this place was over against them. He put off his pontifical garments, and delivered them to Eleazar his son, to whom the high priesthood belonged, because he was the elder brother, and died while the

multitude looked upon him. He died in the same year wherein he lost his sister, having lived in all an hundred and twenty and three years. He died on the first day of that lunar month which is called by the Athenians *Hecatombæon*, by the Macedonians *Lous*, but by the Hebrews *Abba*.

CHAPTER V.

How Moses conquered Sihon and Og, kings of the Amorites, and destroyed their whole army, and then divided their land by lot to two tribes and a half of the Hebrews.

1. THE people mourned for Aaron thirty days; and when this mourning was over, Moses removed the army from that place, and came to the river Arnon, which issuing out of the mountains of Arabia, and running through all that wilderness, fell into the lake Asphaltitis, and became the limit between the land of the Moabites, and the land of the Amorites. This land is fruitful, and sufficient to maintain a great number of men, with the good things it produces. Moses, therefore, sent messengers to Sihon the king of this country desiring that he would grant his army a passage, upon what security he should please to require; he promised that he should be no way injured, neither as to that country which Sihon governed, nor as to its inhabitants; and that he would buy his provisions at such a price as should be to their advantage, even though he should desire to sell them their very water. But Sihon refused his offer, and put his army into battle array, and was preparing every thing in order to hinder their passing over Arnon.

2. When Moses saw that the Amorite king was disposed to enter upon hostilities with them, he thought he ought not to bear that insult; and determining to wean the Hebrews from their indolent temper, and prevent the disorders which arose thence, which had been the occasion of their former sedition; (nor indeed were they now thoroughly easy in their minds) he inquired of God whether he would give him leave to fight? Which when he had done, and God also promised him the victory, he was himself very courageous, and ready to proceed to fighting. Accordingly, he encouraged the soldiers; and he desired of them that they would take the pleasure of fighting, now God gave them leave so to do. They then upon the receipt of this commission, which they so much longed for, put on their whole armour, and set about the work without delay. But the Amorite king was not now like to himself when the Hebrews were ready to attack him, but both he himself was affrighted at the Hebrews, and his army, which before had showed themselves to be of good courage, were then found to be timorous, so they could not sustain the first onset, nor bear up against the Hebrews, but fled away, as thinking this would afford them a more likely way for their escape than fighting, for they depended upon their cities, which were strong, from which yet they reaped no advantage when they were forced to fly to them: for as soon as the Hebrews saw them giving ground, they immediately pursued them close; and when they had broken their ranks, they greatly terrified them, and some of them broke off from the rest and ran away to the cities. Now the Hebrews pursued them briskly, and obstinately persevered in the labours they had already undergone: and being very skilful in slinging, and very dexterous in throwing of darts, or any thing else of

that kind; and also having on nothing but light armour, which made them quick in the pursuit, they overtook their enemies; and for those that were most remote, and could not be overtaken, they reached them by their slings and their bows, so that many were slain; and those that escaped the slaughter were sorely wounded, and these were more distressed with thirst, than with any of those that fought against them, for it was the summer season, and when the greatest number of them were brought down to the river out of a desire to drink; as also, when others fled away by troops, the Hebrews came round them, and shot at them, so that what with darts, and what with arrows they made a slaughter of them all. Sihon also their king was slain. So the Hebrews spoiled the dead bodies, and took their prey. The land also which they took was full of abundance of fruits, and the army went all over it without fear, and fed their cattle upon it, and they took the enemies prisoners, for they could no way put a stop to them, since all the fighting men were destroyed. Such was the destruction which overtook the Amorites, who were neither sagacious in council, nor courageous in action. Hereupon the Hebrews took possession of their land, which is a country situate between three rivers, and naturally resembling an island, the river Arnon being its southern limit: the river Jabbok determining its northern side, which running into Jordan loses its own name, and takes the other, while Jordan itself runs along by it, on its western coast.

3. When matters were come to this state, Og, the king of Gilead and Gaulanitis, fell upon the Israelites. He brought an army with him, and came in haste to the assistance of his friend Sihon. But though he found him already slain, yet did he resolve still to come and fight the Hebrews, supposing he should

be too hard for them, and being desirous to try their valour; but failing of his hope, he was both himself slain in the battle, and all his army was destroyed. So Moses passed over the river Jabbok, and overran the kingdom of Og. He overthrew their cities and slew all their inhabitants, who yet exceeded in riches all the men in that part of the continent, on account of the goodness of the soil, and the great quantity of his wealth. Now Og had very few equals, either in the largeness of his body, or handsomeness of his appearance. He was also a man of great activity, in the use of his hands, so that his actions were not unequal to the vast largeness and handsome appearance of his body. And men could easily guess at his strength and magnitude, when they took his bed at Rabbath, the royal city of the Ammonites; its structure was of iron, its breadth four cubits, and its length a cubit more than double thereto. However, his fall did not only improve the circumstances of the Hebrews for the present, but by his death he was the occasion of further good success to them; for they presently took those sixty cities which were encompassed with excellent walls, and had been subject to him, and all got both in general and in particular a great prey.

CHAPTER VI.

Concerning Balaam the prophet, and what kind of man he was.

1. Now Moses, when he had brought his army to Jordan, pitched his camp in the great plain over against Jericho. This city has a very happy situation, and very fit for producing palm-trees and balsam. And now the Israelites began to be very proud

of themselves, and were very eager for fighting. Moses then, after he had offered for a few days sacrifices of thanksgiving to God, and feasted the people, sent a party of armed men to lay waste the country of the Midianites, and to take their cities. Now the occasion which he took for making war upon them was as follows:

2. When Balak the king of the Moabites, who had from his ancestors a friendship and league with the Midianites, saw how great the Israelites were grown, he was much affrighted, on account of his own and his kingdom's danger, for he was not acquainted ¹ with this, that the Hebrews would not meddle with any other country, but were to be contented with the possession of the land of Canaan, God having forbidden them to go any farther. So he, with more haste than wisdom, resolved to make an attempt upon them by words; but he did not judge it prudent to fight against them, after they had such prosperous successes, and even became out of ill successes more happy than before, but he thought to hinder them, if he could, from growing greater, and so he resolved to send ambassadors to the Midianites about them. Now these Midianites knowing there was one Balaam, who lived by Euphrates, and was the greatest of the prophets at that time, and one that was in friendship with them, sent some of their honourable princes along with the ambassadors of Balak, to entreat the prophet to come to them, that he might imprecate curses to the destruction of

¹ What Josephus here remarks is well worth our remark in this place also, viz. that the Israelites were never to meddle with the Moabites, or Ammonites, or any other people, but those belonging to the land of Canaan, and the countries of Sihon and Og beyond Jordan, as far as the desert and Euphrates, and that therefore no other people had reason to fear the conquests of the Israelites; but that those countries given them by God, were their proper and peculiar portion among the nations, and that all who endeavoured to dispossess them might ever be justly destroyed by them.

the Israelites. So Balaam received the ambassadors, and treated them very kindly, and when he had supped, he inquired what was God's will, and what this matter was for which the Midianites entreated him to come to them? But when God opposed his going, he came to the ambassadors, and told them, that he was himself very willing and desirous to comply with their request, but informed them, that God was opposite to his intentions, even that God who had raised him to great reputation on account of the truth of his predictions, for that this army, which they entreated him to come to curse, was in the favour of God; on which account he advised them to go home again, and not to persist in their enmity against the Israelites: and when he had given them that answer, he dismissed the ambassadors.

3. Now the Midianites, at the earnest instances and fervent entreaties of Balak, sent other ambassadors to Balaam, who desiring to gratify the men, inquired again of God; but he was displeased at this ¹[second] trial, and bid him by no means to contradict the ambassadors. Now Balaam did not imagine that God gave this injunction in order to deceive

¹ Note, that Josephus never supposes Balaam to be an idolater, nor to seek idolatrous enchantments, or to prophesy falsely, but to be no other than an ill-disposed prophet of the true God; and intimates that God's answer the second time, permitting him to go, was ironical, and on design that he should be deceived, (which sort of deception, by way of punishment, for former crimes, Josephus never scruples to admit, as ever esteeming such wicked men justly and providentially deceived). But perhaps, we had better keep here close to the text, which says, Num. xxii. 20, 21, that God only permitted Balaam to *go along with* the ambassadors in case they came and *called him*, or positively insisted on his going along with them, on any terms: whereas Balaam seems out of impatience to have *risen up* in the morning, and saddled his ass, and rather to have *called them*, than stayed for their calling him, so zealous does he seem to have been for his reward of divination, his *wages of unrighteousness*. Numbers xxii. 7, 17, 18, 38, 2 Pet. ii. 15, Jude 5, 11, which reward or wages the truly religious prophets of God never required, nor accepted, as our Josephus justly takes notice in the cases of Samuel, Antiq. B. V. ch. iv. sect. 1, and Daniel, B. X. ch. xi. sect. 3, Vol. II. See also Gen. xiv. 22, 23, 2 Kings v. 15, 16, 26, 27, and Acts viii. 18-24.

him, so he went along with the ambassadors; but when the divine angel met him in the way, when he was in a narrow passage, and hedged in with a wall on both sides, the ass on which Balaam rode, understood that it was a divine spirit that met him, and thrust Balaam to one of the walls, without regard to the stripes which Balaam, when he was hurt by the wall, gave her; but when the ass, upon the angel's continuance to distress her, and upon the stripes which were given her, fell down, by the will of God, she made use of the voice of a man, and complained of Balaam, as acting unjustly to her; that whereas he had no fault to find with her in her former service to him, he now inflicted stripes upon her, as not understanding that she was hindered from serving him in what he was now going about, by the providence of God. And when he was disturbed by reason of the voice of the ass, which was that of a man, the angel plainly appeared to him, and blamed him for the stripes he had given his ass; and informed him that the brute creature was not in fault and that he was himself come to obstruct his journey, as being contrary to the will of God. Upon which Balaam was afraid, and was preparing to return back again, yet did God excite him to go on his intended way; but added this injunction, that he should declare nothing but what he himself should suggest to his mind.

4. When God had given him this charge, he came to Balak; and when the king had entertained him in a magnificent manner, he desired him to go to one of the mountains to take a view of the state of the camp of the Hebrews. Balak himself also came to the mountain, and brought the prophet along with him, with a royal attendance. This mountain lay over their heads, and was distant sixty furlongs from

the camp. Now when he saw them, he desired the king to build him seven altars, and to bring him as many bulls and rams; to which desire the king did presently conform. He then slew the sacrifices, and offered them as burnt-offerings that he might observe some signal of the flight of the Hebrews. Then said he: "Happy is this people on whom God bestows the possession of innumerable good things, and grants them his own providence to be their assistant and their guide: so that there is not any nation among mankind but you will be esteemed superior to them in virtue, and in the earnest prosecution of the best rules of life, and of such as are pure from wickedness, and will leave those excellent rules to your children, and this out of the regard that God bears to you, and the provision of such things for you as may render you happier than any other people under the sun. You shall retain that land to which he hath sent you; and it shall ever be under the command of your children; and both all the earth as well as the seas, shall be filled with your glory: and you shall be sufficiently numerous to supply the world in general, and every region of it in particular, with inhabitants out of your stock. However, O blessed army! wonder that you are become so many from one father: and truly, the land of Canaan can now hold you as being yet comparatively few: but know ye that the whole world is proposed to be your place of habitation for ever. The multitude of your posterity also shall live as well in the islands as on the continent, and that more in number than are the stars of heaven. And when you are become so many, God will not relinquish the care of you; but will afford you an abundance of all good things in time of peace, with victory and dominion in time of war. May the children of your enemies have an inclination to fight

against you; and may they be so hardy as to come to arms, and to assault you in battle, for they will not return with victory, nor will their return be agreeable to their children and wives. To so great a degree of valour will you be raised by the providence of God, who is able to diminish the affluence of some, and to supply the wants of others."

5. Thus did Balaam speak by inspiration, as not being in his own power, but moved to say what he did by the divine Spirit. But when Balak was displeased, and said he had broken the contract he had made, whereby he was to come, as he and his confederates had invited him, by the promise of great presents; for whereas he came to curse their enemies, he had made an encomium upon them, and had declared that they were the happiest of men. To which Balaam replied: "O Balak, if thou rightly considerest this whole matter, canst thou suppose that it is in our power to be silent, or to say any thing when the Spirit of God seizes upon us? for he puts such words as he pleases in our mouths, and such discourses as we are not ourselves conscious of. I well remember by what entreaties both you and the Midianites so joyfully brought me hither, and on that account I took this journey. It was my prayer, that I might not put any affront upon you, as to what you desired of me; but God is more powerful than the purposes I had made to serve you, for those that take upon them to foretell the affairs of mankind, as from their own abilities, are entirely unable to do it, or to forbear to utter what God suggests to them, or to offer violence to his will; for when he prevents us, and enters into us, nothing that we say is our own. I then did not intend to praise this army, nor to go over the several good things which God intended to do to their race, but since he was so favourable to

them, and so ready to bestow upon them an happy life, and eternal glory, he suggested the declaration of those things to me. But now, because it is my desire to oblige thee thyself as well as the Midianites, whose entreaties it is not decent for me to reject, go to, let us again rear other altars, and offer the like sacrifices that we did before; that I may see whether I can persuade God to permit me to bind these men with curses." Which, when Balak had agreed to, God would not even upon ¹ second sacrifices consent to his cursing the Israelites. Then fell Balaam upon his face, and foretold what calamities would befall the several kings of the nations, and the most eminent cities, some of which of old were not so much as inhabited; which events have come to pass among the several people concerned, both in the foregoing ages, and in this, till my own memory, both by sea and by land. From which completion of all these predictions that he made, one may easily guess that the rest will have their completion in time to come.

6. But Balak being very angry that the Israelites were not cursed, sent away Balaam without thinking him worthy of any other. Whereupon when he was just upon his journey, in order to pass the Euphrates, he sent for Balak, and for the princes of the Midianites, and spake thus to them: "O Balak, and you Midianites that are here present, (for I am obliged, even without the will of God, to gratify you,) it is true no entire destruction can seize upon the nation of the Hebrews, neither by war, nor by plague, nor

¹ Whether Josephus had in his copy but *two* attempts of Balaam in all to curse Israel, or whether by this his *twice offering sacrifice*, he meant *twice* beside that first time already mentioned, which yet is not very probable, cannot now be certainly determined. In the mean time, all other copies have *three* such attempts of Balaam to curse them in the present history.

by scarcity of the fruits of the earth, nor can any other unexpected accident be their entire ruin; for the providence of God is concerned to preserve them from such a misfortune, nor will it permit any such calamity to come upon them whereby they may all perish: but some small misfortunes, and those for a short time, whereby they may appear to be brought low, may still befall them; but after that they will flourish again, to the terror of those that brought those mischiefs upon them. So that if you have a mind to gain a victory over them for a short space of time, you will obtain it by following my directions: Do you therefore set out the handsomest of such of your daughters as are most eminent for beauty, and proper to force and conquer the modesty of those that behold them, and these decked and trimmed to the highest degree you are able: Then do you send them to be near the Israelites' camp; and give them in charge, that when the young men of the Hebrews desire their company, they allow it them; and when they see that they are enamoured of them, let them take their leaves, and if they entreat them to stay, let them not give their consent till they have persuaded them to leave off their obedience to their own laws, and the worship of that God who established them, and to worship the gods of the Midianites and Moabites, for by this means, God will be angry¹ at them." Accordingly, when Balaam had suggested this counsel to them, he went his way.

7. So when the Midianites had sent their daughters, as Balaam had exhorted them, the Hebrew young men were allured by their beauty, and came to dis-

¹ This grand maxim, that God's people of *Israel* could never be hurt nor destroyed, but by drawing them to sin against God, appears to be true by the entire history of that people, both in the Bible, and in Josephus, and is often taken notice of in them both. See in particular a most remarkable Ammonite testimony to this purpose, *Judith* v. 5-21.

course with them, and besought them not to grudge them the enjoyment of their beauty, nor to deny them their conversation. These daughters of the Midianites received their words gladly, and consented to it, and stayed with them, but when they had brought them to be enamoured of them, and their inclinations to them were grown to ripeness, they began to think of departing from them; then it was that these men became greatly disconsolate at the women's departure, and they were urgent with them not to leave them, but begged they would continue there, and become their wives; and they promised them they should be owned as mistresses of all they had. This they said with an oath; and called God for the arbitrator of what they promised; and this with tears in their eyes, and all other such marks of concern as might show how miserable they thought themselves without them, and so might move their compassion for them. So the women, as soon as they perceived they had made them their slaves, and had caught them with their conversation, began to speak thus to them.

8. "O you illustrious young men! we have houses of our own at home, and great plenty of good things there, together with the natural affectionate love of our parents and friends; nor is it out of our want of any such things that we come to discourse with you, nor did we admit of your invitation with design to prostitute the beauty of our body for gain, but taking you for brave and worthy men, we agreed to your request, that we may treat you with such honours as hospitality required; and now seeing you say that you have a great affection for us, and are troubled when you think we are departing, we are not averse to your entreaties; and if we may receive such assurance of your good-will as we think can be alone sufficient, we will be glad to lead our lives with you

as your wives, but we are afraid that you will in time be weary of our company, and will then abuse us, and send us back to our parents, after an ignominious manner; and they desired that they would excuse them in their guarding against that danger." But the young men professed they would give them any assurance they should desire; nor did they at all contradict what they requested, so great was the passion they had for them. "If then, (said they) this be your resolution, since you make use of such¹ customs and conduct of life as are entirely different from all other men, insomuch that your kinds of food are peculiar to yourselves, and your kinds of drink not common to others, it will be absolutely necessary, if you would have us for your wives, that you do withal worship our gods: Nor can there be any other demonstration of the kindness which you say you already have; and promise to have hereafter to us, than this, that you worship the same gods that we do; for has any one reason to complain, that now you are come into this country, you should worship the proper gods of the same country? especially while our gods are common to all men, and yours such as belong to nobody else but yourselves." So they said they must either come into such methods of divine worship as all others came into, or else they must look out for another world, wherein they may live by themselves, according to their own laws.

¹ What Josephus here puts into the mouths of these Midianite women, who came to entice the Israelites to lewdness and idolatry, viz. that their worship of the God of Israel, in opposition to their idol gods, implied their living according to the holy laws which the true God had given them by Moses, in opposition to those impure laws which were observed under their false gods, well deserves our consideration; and gives us a substantial reason for the great concern that was ever showed under the law of Moses, to preserve the Israelites from idolatry, and in the worship of the true God, it being of no less consequence than, whether God's people should be governed by the holy laws of the true God, or by the impure laws, derived from demons, under the Pagan idolatry.

9. Now the young men were induced by the fondness they had for these women, to think they spake very well, so they gave themselves up to what they persuaded them, and transgressed their own laws, and supposed there were many gods; and resolving that they would sacrifice to them according to the laws of that country which ordained them, they both were delighted with their strange food, and went on to do every thing that the women would have them do, though in contradiction to their own laws; so far indeed that this transgression was already gone through the whole army of the young men, and they fell into a sedition that was much worse than the former, and into danger of the entire abolition of their own institutions; for when once the youth had tasted of these strange customs, they went with insatiable inclinations into them: and even where some of the principal men were illustrious on account of the virtues of their fathers, they also were corrupted together with the rest.

10. Even Zimri, the head of the tribe of Simeon, accompanied with Cozbi, a Midianitish woman, who was the daughter of Sur, a man of authority in that country; and being desired by his wife to disregard the law of Moses, and to follow those she was used to, he complied with her, and this both by sacrificing after a manner different from his own, and by taking a stranger to wife. When things were thus, Moses was afraid that matters should grow worse, and called the people to a congregation, but then accused nobody by name, as unwilling to drive those into despair who by lying concealed, might come to repentance; but he said, "That they did not do what was either worthy of themselves, or of their fathers, by preferring pleasure to God, and to the living according to his will: that it was fit they should

change their courses, while their affairs were still in a good state; and not think that to be true fortitude which offers violence to their laws, but that which resists their lusts. And besides that, he said, it was not a reasonable thing, when they had lived soberly in the wilderness, to act madly now they were in prosperity; and that they ought not to lose, now they have abundance, what they had gained when they had little." And so did he endeavour by saying this, to correct the young men, and to bring them to repentance for what they had done.

11. But Zimri arose up after him, and said, "Yes indeed, Moses, thou art at liberty to make use of such laws as thou art so fond of, and hast, by accustoming thyself to them, made them firm; otherwise, if things had not been thus, thou hadst often been punished before now, and hadst known that the Hebrews are not easily put upon; but thou shalt not have me one of thy followers in thy tyrannical commands, for thou dost nothing else hitherto, but, under pretence of laws, and of God, wickedly impose on us slavery, and gain dominion to thyself, while thou deprivest us of the sweetness of life, which consists in acting according to our own wills, and is the right of freemen, and of those that have no lord over them. Nay, indeed, this man is harder upon the Hebrews than were the Egyptians themselves, as pretending to punish according to his laws, every one's acting what is most agreeable to himself; but thou thyself better deservest to suffer punishment, who presumest to abolish what every one acknowledges to be what is good for him, and aimest to make thy single opinion to have more force than that of all the rest; and what I now do, and think to be right, I shall not hereafter deny to be according to my own sentiments. I have married, as thou sayest rightly, a strange woman,

and thou hearest what I do from myself as from one that is free, for truly I did not intend to conceal myself. I also own, that I sacrifice to those gods to whom you do not think fit to sacrifice; and I think it right to come at truth by inquiring of many people, and not like one that lives under tyranny, to suffer the whole hope of my life to depend upon one man; nor shall any one find cause to rejoice, who declares himself to have more authority over my actions than myself."

12. Now when Zimri had said these things, about what he and some others had wickedly done, the people held their peace, both out of fear of what might come upon them, and because they saw that their legislator was not willing to bring his insolence before the public any farther, or openly to contend with him, for he avoided that, lest many should imitate the imprudence of his language, and thereby disturb the multitude: upon this the assembly was dissolved. However, the mischievous attempt had proceeded farther, if Zimri had not been first slain, which came to pass on the following occasion: Phineas a man in other respects better than the rest of the young men, and also one that surpassed his contemporaries in the dignity of his father, (for he was the son of Eleazar the high priest, and the grandson of [Aaron] Moses' brother,) who was greatly troubled at what was done by Zimri, resolved in earnest to inflict punishment on him, before his unworthy behaviour should grow stronger by impunity: and in order to prevent this transgression from proceeding farther, which would happen if the ringleaders were not punished. He was of so great magnanimity, both in strength of mind and body, that when he undertook any very dangerous attempt, he did not leave it off till he overcame it, and got an entire victory;

so he came into Zimri's tent, and slew him with his javelin, and with it he slew Cozbi also. Upon which all those young men that had a regard to virtue, and aimed to do a glorious action, imitated Phineas' boldness, and slew those that were found to be guilty of the same crime with Zimri. Accordingly many of those that had transgressed perished by the unanimous valour of those young men: the rest all perished by a plague, which distemper God himself inflicted upon them; so that all those their kindred, who, instead of hindering them from such wicked actions, as they ought to have done, had persuaded them to go on, were esteemed by God as partners in their wickedness, and died. Accordingly there perished out of the army no fewer than fourteen¹ [twenty-four] thousand at that time.

13. This was the cause why Moses was provoked to send an army to destroy the Midianites; concerning which expedition we shall speak presently, when we have first related what we have omitted; for it is but just not to pass over our legislator's due encomium, on account of his conduct here, because although this Balaam, who was sent for by the Midianites to curse the Hebrews, and when he was hindered from doing it by divine providence, did still suggest that advice to them, by making use of which our enemies had well nigh corrupted the whole multitude of the Hebrews with their wiles, till some of them were deeply infected with their opinions, yet did he do him great honour, by setting down his prophecies in writing. And while it was in his power to claim this glory to himself, and make men believe they were his own predictions, there being no one that could be a witness

¹ The mistake in all Josephus' copies, Greek and Latin, which have here *fourteen thousand* instead of *twenty-four thousand*, is so flagrant, that our very learned editors, Bernard and Hudson, have put the latter number directly into the text. I choose rather to put it in brackets.

against him, and accuse him for so doing, he still gave his attestation to him, and did him the honour to make mention of him on this account. But let every one think of these matters as he pleases.

CHAPTER VII.

How the Hebrews fought with the Midianites, and overcame them.

1. Now Moses sent an army against the land of Midian, for the causes forementioned, in all twelve thousand, taking an equal number out of every tribe, and appointed Phineas for their commander, of which Phineas we made mention a little before, as he that had guarded the laws of the Hebrews, and had inflicted punishment upon Zimri when he had transgressed them. Now the Midianites perceiving beforehand how the Hebrews were coming, and would suddenly be upon them, they assembled their army together, and fortified the entrances into their country, and there awaited the enemy's coming. When they were come, and they had joined battle with them, an immense multitude of the Midianites fell, nor could they be numbered they were so very many: And among them fell all their kings, five in number, viz. Evi, Zur, Reba, Hur, and Rekam, who was of the same name with a city, the chief and capital of all Arabia, which is still now so called, by the whole Arabian nation, *Aresem*, from the name of the king that built it, but is by the Greeks called *Petra*. Now when the enemies were discomfited, the Hebrews spoiled their country, and took a great prey, and destroyed the men that were its inhabitants, together with the women; only they let the virgins alone, as

Moses had commanded Phineas to do, who indeed came back bringing with him an army that had received no harm, and a great deal of prey: fifty-two thousand beeves, seventy-five thousand six hundred sheep, sixty thousand asses, with an immense quantity of gold and silver furniture, which the Midianites made use of in their houses; for they were so wealthy, that they were very luxurious. There were also led captive about ¹ thirty-two thousand virgins. So Moses divided the prey into parts, and gave one fiftieth part to Eleazar, and the two priests, and another fiftieth part to the Levites; and distributed the rest of the prey among the people. After which they lived happily, as having obtained an abundance of good things by their valour; and there being no misfortune that attended them, or hindered their enjoyment of that happiness.

2. But Moses was now grown old, and appointed Joshua for his successor, both to receive directions from God as a prophet, and for a commander of the army, if they should at any time stand in need of such a one; and this was done by the command of God, that to him the care of the public should be committed. Now Joshua had been instructed in all those kinds of learning which concerned the laws, and God himself, and Moses had been his instructor.

3. At this time it was that the two tribes of Gad, and Reubel, and the half tribe of Manasseh, abounded in a multitude of cattle, as well as in all other kinds

¹ The slaughter of all the Midianite women that had prostituted themselves to the lewd Israelites, and the preservation of those that had not been guilty therein; the last of which were no fewer than 32,000, both here and Num. xxi. 15, 16, 17, 35, 40, 46, and both by the particular command of God, are highly remarkable; and show, that even in nations otherwise, for their wickedness, doomed to destruction, the innocent were sometimes particularly and providentially taken care of, and delivered from that destruction, which directly implies, that it was the wickedness of the nations of Canaan, and nothing else, that occasioned their excision. See Gen. xv. 16, 1 Sam. xv. 18, 33.

of prosperity, whence they had a meeting, and in a body came and besought Moses to give them, as their peculiar portion, that land of the Amorites, which they had taken by right of war, because it was fruitful, and good for feeding of cattle. But Moses supposing that they were afraid of fighting with the Canaanites, and invented this provision for their cattle as an handsome excuse for avoiding that war, he called them arrant cowards: and said, "That they only contrived a decent excuse for that cowardice, and that they had a mind to live in luxury and ease, while all the rest were labouring with great pains to obtain the land they were desirous to have, and that they were not willing to march along, and undergo the remaining hard service, whereby they were, under the divine promise, to pass over Jordan, and overcome those our enemies which God had showed them, and so obtain their land." But these tribes when they saw that Moses was angry with them, and when they could not deny but he had a just cause to be displeased at their petition, made an apology for themselves; and said, that "it was not on account of their fear of dangers, nor on account of their laziness, that they made this request to him, but that they might leave the prey they had gotten in places of safety, and thereby might be more expedite, and ready to undergo difficulties, and to fight battles." They added this also, that, "when they had built cities, wherein they might preserve their children, and wives, and possessions, if he would bestow them upon them, they would go along with the rest of the army." Hereupon Moses was pleased with what they said: So he called for Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua, and the chief of the tribes, and permitted these tribes to possess the land of the Amorites; but upon this condition, that they should join with their kinsmen

in the war, until all things were settled. Upon which condition they took possession of the country, and built them strong cities, and put into them their children and their wives, and whatsoever else they had that might be an impediment to the labours of their future marches.

4. Moses also now built those ten cities, which were to be of the number of the forty-eight [for the Levites;] three of which he allotted to those that slew any person involuntarily, and fled to them; and he assigned the same time for their banishment with that of the life of that high priest under whom the slaughter and flight happened, after which death of the high priest, he permitted the slayer to return home. During the time of his exile, the relations of him that was slain, might, by this law, kill the manslayer, if they caught him without the bounds of the city to which he fled, though this permission was not granted to any other person. Now the cities, which were set apart for this flight were these: Bezer, at the borders of Arabia; Ramoth, of the land of Gilead; and Golan, in the land of Bashan. There were to be also, by Moses' command, three other cities allotted for the habitation of these fugitives out of the cities of the Levites, but not till after they should be in possession of the land of Canaan.

5. At this time the chief men of the tribe of Manasseh came to Moses, and informed him, that there was an eminent man of their tribe dead, whose name was *Zelophehad*, who left no male children, but left daughters, and asked him, Whether these daughters might inherit his land or not. He made this answer, That if they shall marry into their own tribe, they shall carry their estate along with them; but if they dispose of themselves in marriage to men of another tribe, they shall leave their inheritance in their father's

tribe. And then it was that Moses ordained, that every one's inheritance should continue in his own tribe.

CHAPTER VIII.

The polity settled by Moses; and how he disappeared from among mankind.

1. WHEN forty years were completed, within thirty days, Moses gathered the congregation together near Jordan, where the city Abila now stands, a place full of palm-trees; and all the people being come together, he spake thus to them:

2. "O you Israelites and fellow-soldiers! who have been partners with me in this long and uneasy journey; since it is now the will of God, and the course of old age, at an hundred and twenty, requires it, that I should depart out of this life; and since God has forbidden me to be a patron or an assistant to you in what remains to be done beyond Jordan, I thought it reasonable not to leave off my endeavours even now for your happiness, but to do my utmost to procure for you the eternal enjoyment of good things, and a memorial for myself, when you shall be in the fruition of great plenty and prosperity: Come therefore, let me suggest to you by what means you may be happy, and may leave an eternal prosperous possession thereof to your children after you, and then let me thus go out of the world: and I cannot but deserve to be believed by you, both on account of the great things I have already done for you, and because when souls are about to leave the body, they speak with the sincerest freedom. ¹ O children of Israel! *there is but one source of*

¹ Josephus here, in this one sentence, sums up his notion of Moses' very long and very serious exhortation in the book of Deuteronomy; and

happiness for all mankind, THE FAVOUR OF GOD, for he alone is able to give good things to those that deserve them, and to deprive those of them that sin against him; towards whom, if you behave yourselves according to his will, and according to what I, who well understand his mind, do exhort you to, you will both be esteemed blessed, and will be admired by all men; and will never come into misfortunes, nor cease to be happy: you will then preserve the possession of the good things you already have, and will quickly obtain those that you at present are in want of; only do you be obedient to those whom God would have you to follow. Nor do you prefer any other constitution of government before the laws now given you; neither do you disregard that way of divine worship which you now have, nor change it for any other form: And if you do this, you will be the most courageous of all men, in undergoing the fatigues of war, and will not be easily conquered by any of your enemies; for while God is present with you to assist you, it is to be expected that you will be able to despise the opposition of all mankind; and great rewards of virtue are proposed for you, if you preserve that virtue through your whole lives. Virtue itself is indeed the principal and the first reward, and after that it bestows abundance of others; so that your exercise of virtue towards other men will make your own lives happy, and render you more glorious than foreigners can be, and procure you an undisputed reputation with posterity. These blessings you will be able to obtain, in case you hearken to and observe those laws which, by divine relation, I have ordained for you; that is, in case you withal meditate upon the wisdom that is in them. I am going from these words are so true, and of such importance, that they deserve to be read in constant remembrance both by Jews and Christians; "O children of Israel! there is but one source of happiness for all mankind, *the favour of God.*"

you myself, rejoicing in the good things you enjoy; and I recommend you to the wise conduct of your law, to the becoming order of your polity, and to the virtues of your commanders, who will take care of what is for your advantage. And that God, who has been till now your leader, and by whose good-will I have myself been useful to you, will not put a period now to his Providence over you, but as long as you desire to have him your Protector, in your pursuits after virtue, so long will you enjoy his care over you. Your high priest also, Eleazar, as well as Joshua, with the senate, and chief of your tribes, will go before you, and suggest the best advices to you: by following which advices, you will continue to be happy; to whom do you give ear without reluctance, as sensible that all such as know well how to be governed, will also know how to govern, if they be promoted to that authority themselves. And do not you esteem liberty to consist in opposing such directions as your governors think fit to give you for your practice, as at present indeed you place your liberty in nothing else but abusing your benefactors; which error if you can avoid for the time to come, your affairs will be in a better condition than they have hitherto been: Nor do you ever indulge such a degree of passion in these matters, as you have oftentimes done when you have been very angry at me; for you know that I have been oftener in danger of death from you than from our enemies.—What I now put you in mind of, is not done in order to reproach you, for I do not think it proper, now I am going out of the world, to bring this to your remembrance, in order to leave you offended at me, since at the time when I underwent those hardships from you, I was not angry at you, but I do it in order to make you wiser hereafter; and to teach you that this will be for your security; I mean, that you never be injurious to those

that preside over you, even when you are become rich, as you will be to a great degree when you have passed over Jordan, and are in possession of the land of Canaan. Since when you shall have once proceeded so far by your wealth, as to a contempt and disregard of virtue, you will also forfeit the favour of God; and when you have made him your enemy, you will be beaten in war; and will have the land which you possess taken away again from you by your enemies, and this with great reproaches upon your conduct. You will be scattered over the whole world, and will, as slaves, entirely fill both sea and land; and when once you have had the experience of what I now say, you will repent, and remember the laws you have broken, when it is too late. Whence I would advise you, if you intend to preserve these laws, to leave none of your enemies alive when you have conquered them, but to look upon it as for your advantage to destroy them all, lest if you permit them to live, you taste of their manners, and thereby corrupt your own proper institutions. I also do farther exhort you, to overthrow their altars, and their groves, and whatsoever temples they have among them, and to burn all such, their nation, and their very memory with fire, for by this means alone the safety of your own happy constitution can be firmly secured to you. And in order to prevent your ignorance of virtue, and the degeneracy of your nature into vice, I have also ordained you laws, by divine suggestion, and a form of government, which are so good, that if you regularly observe them, you will be esteemed of all men the most happy."

3. When he had spoken thus, he gave them the laws, and the constitution of government written in a book. Upon which the people fell into tears, and appeared already touched with the sense that they should have a great want of their conductor, because they

remembered what a number of dangers he had passed through, and what care he had taken of their preservation; they desponded about what would come upon them after he was dead, and thought they should never have another governor like him; but feared that God would then take less care of them when Moses was gone who used to intercede for them. They also repented of what they had said to him in the wilderness when they were angry, and were in grief on those accounts, insomuch, that the whole body of the people fell into tears with such bitterness, that it was past the power of words to comfort them in their affliction. However, Moses gave them some consolation, and by calling them off the thought, how worthy he was of their weeping for him, he exhorted them to keep that form of government he had given them: and then the congregation was dissolved at that time.

4. Accordingly I shall now first describe this form of government, which was agreeable to the dignity and virtue of Moses; and shall thereby inform those that read these antiquities, what our original settlements were, and shall then proceed to the remaining histories. Now those settlements are all still in writing, as he left them; and we shall add nothing by way of ornament, nor any thing besides what Moses left us, only we shall so far innovate, as to digest the several kinds of laws into a regular system, for they were by him left in writing as they were accidentally scattered in their delivery, and as he upon inquiry had learned them of God. On which account I have thought it necessary to premise this observation beforehand, lest any of my own countrymen should blame me, as having been guilty of an offence herein. Now part of our constitution will include the laws that belong to our political state. As for those laws which Moses left concerning our common conversation and intercourse

one with another, I have reserved that for a discourse concerning our manner of life, and the occasions of those laws which I propose to myself, with God's assistance, to write, after I have finished the work I am now upon.

5. When you have possessed yourselves of the land of Canaan and have leisure to enjoy the good things of it, and when you have afterward determined to build cities, if you will do what is pleasing to God, you will have a secure state of happiness. Let there be then one city of the land of Canaan, and this situate in the most agreeable place for its goodness, and very eminent in itself, and let it be that which God shall choose for himself, by prophetic revelation. Let there also be one temple therein, and one altar, not reared of hewn stones, but of such as you gather together at random: which stones, when they are whited over with mortar, will have an handsome appearance, and be beautiful to the sight. Let the ascent to it be ¹ not by steps, but by an acclivity of raised earth. And let there be neither an altar, nor a temple, in any other city; for God is but one, and the nation of the Hebrews is but one.

6. He that blasphemeth God, let him be stoned; and let him hang upon a tree all that day, and then let him be buried in an ignominious and obscure manner.

¹ This law, both here and Exod. xx. 25, 26, of not going up to God's altar by *ladder steps*, but on an acclivity, seems not to have belonged to the altar of the tabernacle, which was in all but three cubits high, Exod. xxvii. 1, nor to that of Ezekiel, which was expressly to be gone up to by steps, xlvi. 17, but rather to occasional altars of any considerable altitude and largeness, as also probably to Solomon's altar, to which it is here applied by Josephus, as well as to that in Zorobabel's and Herod's temple, which were, I think, all ten cubits high. See 2 Chron. iv. 1, and Antiq. B. VIII. ch. iii. sect. 7. The reason why these temples, and these only were to have this ascent on an acclivity, and not by steps, is obvious, that before the invention of stairs, such as we now use, decency could not be otherwise provided for in the loose garments which the priests wore, as the law required.

7. Let those that live as remote as the bounds of the land which the Hebrews shall possess, come to that city where the temple shall be, and this three times in a year, that they may give thanks to God for his former benefits, and may entreat him for those they shall want hereafter; and let them by this means maintain a friendly correspondence with one another, by such meetings and feastings together; for it is a good thing for those that are of the same stock, and under the same institutions of laws, not to be unacquainted with each other; which acquaintance will be maintained by thus conversing together, and by seeing and talking with one another, and so renewing the memorials of this union: for if they do not thus converse together continually, they will appear like mere strangers to one another.

8. Let there be taken out of your fruits a tenth, besides that which you have allotted to give to the priests, and Levites. This you may indeed sell in the country, but it is to be used in those feasts and sacrifices that are to be celebrated in the holy city; for it is fit that you should enjoy those fruits of the earth which God gives you to possess, so as may be to the honour of the donor.

9. You are not to offer sacrifices out of the ¹ hire of a woman which is an harlot, for the Deity is not pleased with any thing that arises from such abuses of nature; of which sort none can be worse than this prostitution of the body. In like manner no one may take the price of the covering of a bitch, either of one that is used in hunting, or in keeping of sheep, and thence sacrifice to God.

10. Let no one ² blaspheme those gods which other

¹ The hire of public or secret harlots was given to Venus, in Syria, as Lucian informs us, p. 878, and against some such vile practice of the old idolaters this law seems to have been made.

² The apostolical constitutions, B. II. ch. xxvi. sect. 31, expound this

cities esteem such; nor may any one steal what belongs to strange temples, nor take away the gifts that are dedicated to any god.

11. Let not any one of you wear a garment made of woollen and linen, for that is appointed to be for the priests alone.

12. When the multitude are assembled together into the holy city for sacrificing every seventh year, at the feast of tabernacles, let the high priest stand upon an high desk, whence he may be heard, and let him read the ¹ laws to all the people; and let neither the women nor the children be hindered from hearing, no nor the servants neither; for it is a good thing that those laws should be engraven in their souls, and preserved in their memories, that so it may not be possible to blot them out, for by this means they will not be guilty of sin, when they cannot plead ignorance of what the laws have enjoined them. The laws also will have a great authority among them, as foretelling what they will suffer if they break them; and imprinting in their souls by this hearing what they command them to do, that so there may always be within their minds that attention to the laws which they have despised and broken, and have thereby been the causes of their own mischief. Let the children also learn the laws, as the first thing they are taught, which will be the best thing they can be taught, and will be the cause of their future felicity.

13. Let every one commemorate before God, the benefits which he bestowed upon them at their deliverance out of the land of Egypt, and this twice every

law of Moses, Exod. xxii. 28, *thou shalt not revile or blaspheme the gods, or magistrates, which is a much more probable exposition than this of Josephus' of heathen gods as here, and against Apion, B. II. ch. iii. sect. 4, Vol. IV.*

¹ What book of the law was thus publicly read, see the note on Antiq. B. X. ch. v. sect. 5, and 1 Esd. ix. 39-55.

day; both when the day begins, and when the hour of sleep comes on, gratitude being in its own nature a just thing, and serving not only by way of return for past, but also by way of invitation of future favours. They are also to inscribe the principal blessings they have received from God upon their doors, and show the same remembrance of them on their arms; as also, they are to bear on their forehead, and their arm, those wonders which declare the power of God, and his good will towards them, that God's readiness to bless them may appear every where conspicuous about them.

14. Let there be seven men to judge ¹ in every city, and these such as have been before most zealous in the exercise of virtue and righteousness. Let every judge have two officers allotted him out of the tribe of Levi. Let those that are chosen to judge in the several cities be had in great honour; and let none be permitted to revile any others when these are present, nor to carry themselves in an insolent manner to them, it being natural, that reverence towards those in high offices among men should procure men's fear and reverence towards God. Let those that judge be permitted to determine according as they think to be right, unless any one can show that they have taken bribes, to the perversion of justice, or can allege any other accusation against them, whereby it may appear they have passed an unjust sentence; for it is not fit that causes should be openly determined out of regard to gain, or to the dignity of the suiters, but that the judges should esteem what is right before all other things, otherwise God will by no means be despised, and esteemed inferior to those the dread of whose power has occasioned

¹ Here, as well as elsewhere, of his life, sect. 14, Vol. III. and Of the War, B. II. ch. xx. sect. 5, Vol. III. are but *seven* judges appointed for small cities, instead of *twenty-three* in the modern Rabbins; which modern Rabbins are always but of very little authority in comparison of our Josephus.

the unjust sentence: for justice is the power of God. He therefore that gratifies those in great dignity, supposes them more potent than God himself. But if these judges are unable to give a just sentence about the causes that come before them, (which case is not unfrequent in human affairs,) let them send the cause undetermined to the holy city, and there let the high priest, the prophet, and the Sanhedrim, determine as it shall seem good to them.

15. But let not a single witness be credited, but three, or two at the least, and those such whose testimony is confirmed by their good lives. But let not the testimony of ¹ women be admitted, on account of their levity and boldness of their sex. Nor, let servants be admitted to give testimony, on account of the ignobility of their soul; since it is probable that they may not speak truth, either out of hope of gain, or fear of punishment. But if any one be believed to have borne false witness, let him when he is convicted, suffer all the very same punishments which he against whom he bare witness was to have suffered.

16. If a murder be committed in any place, and he that did it be not found, nor is there any suspicion upon one as if he had hated the man, and so had killed him, let there be a very diligent inquiry made after the man, and rewards proposed to any who will discover him: but if still no information can be procured, let the magistrates and senate of those cities that lie near the place in which the murder was committed, assemble together, and measure the distance from the place where the dead body lies; then let the magistrates of the nearest city thereto purchase an heifer, and bring

¹ I have never observed elsewhere, that in the Jewish government, women were not admitted as legal witnesses in courts of justice. None of our copies of the Pentateuch say a word of it. It is very probable, however, that this was the exposition of the Scribes and Pharisees, and the practice of the Jews in the days of Josephus.

it to a valley, and to a place therein where there is no land ploughed, or trees planted, and let them cut the sinews of the heifer, then the priest and Levites, and the senate of that city, shall take water and wash their hands over the head of the heifer, and they shall openly declare that their hands are innocent of this murder, and that they have neither done it themselves, nor been assisting to any that did it. They shall also beseech God to be merciful to them, that no such horrid fact may any more be done in that land.

17. Aristocracy, and the way of living under it, is the best constitution; and may you never have any inclination to any other form of government; and may you always love that form, and have the laws of your governors, and govern all your actions according to them: for you need no supreme governor but God. But if you shall desire a king, let him be one of your own nation: let him be always careful of justice, and other virtues, perpetually; let him submit to the laws, and esteem God's commands to be his highest wisdom; but let him do nothing without the high priest, and the votes of the senators: let him not have a great number of wives, nor pursue abundance of riches, nor a multitude of horses, whereby he may grow too proud to submit to the laws. And if he affect any such things, let him be restrained; lest he become so potent that his state be inconsistent with your welfare.

18. Let it not be esteemed lawful to remove boundaries, neither our own, nor of those with whom we are at peace. Have a care you do not take those landmarks away, which are, as it were, a divine and unshaken limitation of rights made by God himself, to last forever, since this going beyond limits, and gaining ground upon others, is the occasion of wars and seditions; for those that remove boundaries are not far off an attempt to subvert the laws.

19. He that plants a piece of land, whose trees produce fruits before the fourth year, is not to bring thence any first fruits to God, nor is he to make use of that fruit himself, for it is not produced in its proper season; for when nature has a force put upon her at an unseasonable time, the fruit is not proper for God, nor for the master's use; but let the owner gather all that is grown on the fourth year, for then it is in its proper season. And let him that has gathered it, carry it to the holy city, and spend that, together with the tithe of his other fruits, in feasting with his friends, with the orphans, and the widows. But on the fifth year the fruit is his own, and he may use it as he pleases.

20. You are not to sow a piece of land with seed which is planted with vines, for it is enough that it supply nourishment to that plant, and be not harassed by ploughing also. You are to plough your land with oxen; and not to oblige other animals to come under the same yoke with them; but to till your land with those beasts that are of the same kind with each other. The seeds are also to be pure, and without mixture, and not to be compounded of two or three sorts, since nature does not rejoice in the union of things that are not in their own nature alike, nor are you to permit beasts of different kinds of gender together; for there is reason to fear that this unnatural abuse may extend from beasts of different kinds to men, though it takes its first rise from evil practices about such smaller things. Nor is any thing to be allowed, by imitation whereof any degree of subversion may creep into the constitution. Nor do the laws neglect small matters, but provide that even those may be managed after an unblamable manner.

21. Let not those that reap, and gather in the corn that is reaped, gather in the gleanings also; but let them rather leave some handfuls for those that are in

want of the necessaries of life, that it may be a support and a supply to them, in order to their subsistence. In like manner when they gather their grapes, let them leave some smaller bunches for the poor, and let them pass over some of the fruits of the olive trees, when they gather them, and leave them to be partaken of by those that have none of their own; for the advantage arising from the exact collection of all, will not be so considerable to the owners as will arise from the gratitude of the poor. And God will provide, that the land shall more willingly produce what shall be for the nourishment of its fruits in case you do not merely take care of your own advantage, but have regard to the support of others also. Nor are you to muzzle the mouths of the oxen, when they tread the ears of corn, in the threshing floor; for it is not just to restrain our fellow-labouring animals, and those that work in order to its production, of this fruit of their labours. Nor are you to prohibit those that pass by at the time when your fruits are ripe to touch them, but to give them leave to fill themselves full of what you have, and this whether they be of your own country, or strangers, as being glad of the opportunity of giving them some part of your fruits when they are ripe; but let it not be esteemed lawful for them to carry any away. Nor let those that gather the grapes, and carry them to the wine presses restrain those whom they may meet from eating of them; for it is unjust, out of envy, to hinder those that desire it, to partake of the good things that come into the world according to God's will, and this while the season is at the height, and is hastening away as it pleases God. Nay, if some, out of bashfulness, are unwilling to touch these fruits, let them be encouraged to take of them; I mean, those that are Israelites, as if they were themselves the owners and lords, on account of the kindred there is between them.

Nay, let them desire men that come from other countries, to partake of these tokens of friendship which God has given in their proper season; for that is not to be deemed as idly spent, which any one out of kindness communicates to another, since God bestows plenty of good things on men, not only for themselves to reap the advantage, but also to give to others in a way of generosity; and he is desirous by this means, to make known to others his peculiar kindness to the people of Israel, and how freely he communicates happiness to them, while they abundantly communicate, out of their great superfluities to even these foreigners also. But for him that acts contrary to this law, let him be beaten with forty stripes save one, by the public executioner; let him undergo this punishment, which is a most ignominious one for a freeman, and this because he was such a slave to gain as to lay a blot upon his own dignity; for it is proper for you who have had the experience of the afflictions in Egypt, and of those in the wilderness, to make provision for those that are in the like circumstances; and while you have now obtained plenty yourselves, through the mercy and providence of God, to distribute of the same plenty by the like sympathy to such as stand in need of it.

22. Besides these two tithes, which I have already said you are to pay every year, the one for the Levites, the other for the festivals; you are to bring every third year a ¹ third tithe to be distributed to those that want: to women also that are widows: and to children that are orphans. But as to the ripe fruits, let them carry that which is ripe first of all unto the temple; and when

¹ Josephus' plain and express interpretation of this law of Moses, Deut. xiv. 28, 29, xxvi. 12, etc., that the Jews were bound every third year to pay three tithes, that to the Levites, that for sacrifices at Jerusalem, and this for the indigent, the widows, and the orphans, is fully confirmed by the practice of good old Tobit, even when he was a captive at Assyria, against the opinion of the Rabbins, Tobit, ch. i, sect. 6, 7, 8.

they have blessed God for that land which bare them, and which he had given them for a possession, when they have also offered those sacrifices which the law has commanded them to bring, let them give the first fruits to the priests. But when any one hath done this, and hath brought the tithe of all that he hath, together with those first fruits that are for the Levites, and for the festivals; and when he is about to go home, let him stand before the holy house, and return thanks to God, that he hath delivered them from the injurious treatment they had in Egypt, and hath given them a good land, and a large, and let them enjoy the fruits thereof; and when he has openly testified that he hath fully paid the tithes [and other dues,] according to the law of Moses, let him entreat God that he will be ever merciful and gracious to him, and continue so to be to all the Hebrews, both by preserving the good things which he hath already given them, and by adding what it is still in his power to bestow upon them.

23. Let the Hebrews marry, at the age fit for it, virgins that are free and born of good parents. And he that does not marry a virgin, let him not corrupt another man's wife, and marry her, nor grieve her former husband. Nor let free men marry slaves, although their affections should strongly bias any of them so to do, for it is decent, and for the dignity of the persons themselves, to govern those their affections. And farther, no one ought to marry an harlot; whose matrimonial oblations, arising from the prostitution of her body, God will not receive; for by these means the dispositions of the children will be liberal and virtuous; I mean when they are not born of base parents, and of the lustful conjunction of such as marry women that are not free. If any one has been espoused to a woman as to a virgin, and does not afterwards find her so to be, let him bring his action, and accuse her, and let

him make use of such ¹ indications to prove his accusation as he is furnished withal, and let the father or the brother of the damsel, or some one that is after them nearest of kin to her defend her. If the damsel obtain a sentence in her favour, that she had not been guilty, let her live with her husband that accused her; and let him not have any farther power at all to put her away, unless she give him very great occasions of suspicion, and such as can be no way contradicted. But for him that brings an accusation and calumny against his wife, in an impudent and rash manner, let him be punished by receiving forty stripes save one, and let him pay fifty shekels to her father: But if the damsel is convicted, as having been corrupted, and is one of the common people, let her be stoned, because she did not preserve her virginity till she were lawfully married; but if she were the daughter of a priest, let her be burnt alive. If any man has two wives, and if he greatly respect and be kind to one of them, either out of his affection to her, or for her beauty, or for some other reason, while the other is of less esteem with him; and if the son of her that is beloved be the younger by birth than another born of the other wife, but endeavours to obtain the right of primogeniture from his father's kindness to his mother, and would thereby obtain a double portion of his father's substance, (for that double portion is what I have allotted him in the laws,) let not this be permitted; for it is

¹ These *tokens of virginity*, as the Hebrew and Septuagint style them, Deut. xxii. 15, 17, 20, seem to me very different from what our latter interpreters suppose. They appear rather to have been such close linen garments as were never put off virgins after a certain age, till they were married, but before witnesses, and which while they were entire, were certain evidences of such virginity. See these Antiq. B. VII. ch. viii. sect. 1, 2 Sam. xiii. 18, Isa. iv. 1. Josephus here determines nothing what were these particular tokens of virginity, or of corruption; perhaps he thought he could not easily describe them to the heathens, without saying what they might have thought a breach of modesty: which seeming breach of modesty, laws cannot always wholly avoid.

unjust, that he who is the elder by birth should be deprived of what is due to him, on the father's disposition of his estate, because his mother was not equally regarded by him. He that hath corrupted a damsel espoused to another man, in case he had her consent, let both him and her be put to death, for they are both equally guilty, the man because he persuaded the woman willingly to submit to a most impure action, and to prefer it to lawful wedlock, the woman because she was persuaded to yield herself to be corrupted, either for pleasure, or for gain. However, if a man light on a woman when she is alone, and forces her, where nobody was present to come to her assistance, let him only be put to death. Let him that hath corrupted a virgin not yet espoused, marry her; but if the father of the damsel be not willing that she should be his wife, let him pay fifty shekels as the price of her prostitution. He that desires to be divorced from his wife for any cause whatsoever, and many such causes happen among men, let him in writing give assurance that he will never use her as his wife any more, for by these means she may be at liberty to marry another husband, although before this bill of divorce be given, she is not to be permitted so to do: But if she be misused by him also, or if, when he is dead, her first husband would marry her again, it shall not be lawful for her to return to him. If a woman's husband die, and leave her without children, let his brother marry her, and let him call the son that is born to him by his brother's name, and educate him as the heir of his inheritance, for this procedure will be for the benefit of the public, because thereby families will not fail, and the estate will continue among the kindred; and this will be for the solace of wives under their affliction, that they are to be married to the next relations of their former husbands. But if the brother will not marry her,

let the woman come before the senate and protest openly that his brother will not admit her for his wife, but will injure the memory of his deceased brother, while she is willing to continue in the family, and to bear him children: And when the senate have inquired of him, for what reason it is that he is averse to this marriage, whether he gives a bad or a good reason, the matter must come to this issue, that the woman shall loose the sandals of the brother, and shall spit in his face, and say, "He deserves this reproachful treatment from her, as having injured the memory of the deceased." And then let him go away out of the senate, and bear this reproach upon him all his life long; and let her marry to whom she pleases, of such as seek her in marriage. But now if any man take captive either a virgin, or one that hath been ¹ married, and has a mind to marry her, let him not be allowed to bring her to bed to him, or to live with her as his wife, before she hath her head shaven, and hath put on her mourning habit, and lamented her relations and friends that were slain in the battle, that by these means she may give vent to her sorrow for them, and after that may betake herself to feasting and matrimony, for it is good for him that takes a woman in order to have children by her, to be complaisant to her inclinations, and not merely to pursue his own pleasure, while he hath no regard to what is agreeable to her. But when thirty days are past, as the time of mourning, for so many are sufficient, to prudent persons, for lamenting the dearest friends, then let them proceed to the marriage; but in case when he hath satisfied his lust, he be too proud to retain her for his wife, let him not have it in his

¹ Here, it is supposed, that this captive's husband, if she were before a married woman, was dead before, or rather was slain in this very battle, otherwise it would have been adultery in him that married her.

power to make her a slave, but let her go away whither she pleases, and have that privilege of a free woman.

24. As to those young men that despise their parents, and do not pay them honour, but offer them affronts, either because they are ashamed of them, or think themselves wiser than they, in the first place, let their parents admonish them in words, (for they are by nature of authority sufficient for becoming their judges,) and let them say thus to them: "That they cohabited together, not for the sake of pleasure, nor for the augmentation of their riches, by joining both their stocks together, but that they might have children, to take care of them in their old age, and might by them have what they then should want." And say farther to him, "That when thou wast born we took thee up with gladness, and gave God the greatest thanks for thee, and brought thee up with great care, and spared for nothing that appeared useful for thy preservation, and for thy instruction in what was most excellent. And now, since it is reasonable to forgive the sins of those that are young, let it suffice thee to have given so many indications of thy contempt of us, reform thyself, and act more wisely for the time to come, considering that God is displeased with those that are insolent towards their parents, because he is himself the father of the whole race of mankind, and seems to bear part of that dishonour which falls upon those that have the same name, when they do not meet with due returns from their children. And on such the law inflicts inexorable punishment; of which punishment mayest thou never have the experience!" Now if the insolence of young men be thus cured, let them escape the reproach which their former errors deserved, for by this means the lawgiver will appear to be good, and parents happy, while they never behold either a son or a

laughter brought to punishment. But if it happen that these words and instructions conveyed by them in order to reclaim the man, appear to be useless, when the offender renders the laws implacable enemies to the insolence he has offered his parents; let him therefore be ¹ brought forth by these very parents out of the city, with a multitude following him, and let him be stoned; and when he has continued there for one whole day, that all the people may see him, let him be buried in the night. And thus it is that we bury all whom the laws condemn to die, upon any account whatsoever. Let our enemies that fall in battle be also buried; nor let any one dead body lie above ground, or suffer a punishment beyond what justice requires.

25. Let no one lend to any one of the Hebrews upon usury, neither usury of what is eaten, or what is drunken, for it is not just to make advantage of the misfortunes of one of thy own countrymen; but when thou hast been assistant to his necessities, think not thy gain, if thou obtainest their gratitude to thee; and withal that reward which will come to thee from God, for thy humanity towards him.

26. Those who have borrowed either silver or any sort of fruits, whether dry or wet, I mean this, when the Jewish affairs shall, by the blessing of God, be to their own mind, let the borrowers bring them again, and restore them with pleasure to those who lent them, laying them up, as it were, in their own treasuries, and justly expecting to receive them thence, if they shall want them again. But if they be without shame, and do not restore it, let not the lender go to the borrower's house, and take a pledge himself,

¹ See Herod the Great insisting on the execution of this law, with relation to two of his own sons, before the judges at Berytus, Antiq. B. XVI. c. xi. sect. 2, Vol. II.

before judgment be given concerning it; but let him require the pledge, and let the debtor bring it of himself, without the least opposition to him that comes upon him under the protection of the law. And if he that gave the pledge be rich, let the creditor retain it till what he lent be paid him again; but if he be poor, let him that takes it, return it before the going down of the sun, especially if the pledge be a garment, that the debtor may have it for a covering in his sleep. God himself naturally showing mercy to the poor. It is also not lawful to take a millstone, nor any utensil thereto belonging, for a pledge, that the debtors may not be deprived of instruments to get their food withal, and lest they be undone by their necessity.

27. Let death be the punishment for stealing a man; but he that hath purloined gold or silver, let him pay double. If any one kill a man that is stealing something out of his house, let him be esteemed guiltless, although the man were only breaking in at the wall. Let him that hath stolen cattle pay four-fold what is lost; excepting the case of an ox, for which let the thief pay five-fold. Let him that is so poor that he cannot pay what mulct is laid upon him, be his servant to whom he was adjudged to pay it.

28. If any one be sold to one of his own nation, let him serve him six years, and on the seventh let him go free: But if he have a son by a woman servant in his purchaser's house, and if on account of his good will to his master, and his natural affection to his wife and children, he will be his servant still, let him be set free only at the coming of the year of jubilee, which is the fiftieth year, and let him then take away with him his children and wife, and let them be free also.

29. If any one find gold or silver in the road, let him inquire after him that lost it, and make

proclamation of the place where he found it, and then restore it to him again, as not thinking it right to make his own profit by the loss of another. And the same rule is to be observed in cattle found to have wandered away into a lonely place. If the owner be not presently discovered, let him that is the finder keep it with himself, and appeal to God, that he has not purloined what belongs to another.

30. It is not lawful to pass by any beast that is in distress, when in a storm it is fallen down in the mire, but to endeavour to preserve it, as having a sympathy with it in its pain.

31. It is also a duty to show the roads to those who do not know them, and not to esteem it a matter for sport, when we hinder others advantages by setting them in a wrong way.

32. In like manner let no one revile a person blind or dumb.

33. If men strive together, and there be no instrument of iron, let him that is smitten be avenged immediately, by inflicting the same punishment on him that smote him: But if when he is carried home, he lie sick many days, and then die, let him that smote him not escape punishment; but if he that is smitten escape death, and yet be at great expense for his cure, the smiter shall pay for all that has been expended during the time of his sickness, and for all that he has paid the physician. He that kicks a woman with child, so that the woman ¹ miscarry, let

¹ Philo and others appear to have understood this law, Exod. xxi. 22, 23, better than Josephus, who seems to allow, that though the infant in the mother's womb, even after the mother were quick, and so the infant had a rational soul, were killed by the stroke upon the mother, yet if the mother escaped, the offender should only be fined, and not put to death; while the law seems rather to mean, that if the infant in that case be killed, though the mother escape, the offender must be put to death, and not only when the mother is killed, as Josephus understood it. It seems this was the exposition of the Pharisees in the days of Josephus.

him pay a fine in money as the judges shall determine, as having diminished the multitude by the destruction of what was in her womb: and let money also be given the woman's husband by him that kicked her; but if she die of the stroke, let him also be put to death, the law judging it equitable that life should go for life.

34. Let no one of the Israelites keep any poison that may cause death, or any other harm; but if he be caught with it, let him be put to death, and suffer the very same mischief that he would have brought upon them for whom the poison was prepared.

35. He that maimeth any one, let him undergo the like himself, and be deprived of the same member of which he hath deprived the other, ¹ unless he that is maimed will accept of money instead of it, for the law makes the sufferer the judge of the value of what he hath suffered, and permits him to estimate, unless he will be more severe.

36. Let him that is the owner of an ox, which pusheth with his horn kill him: but if he pushes and gores any one in the threshing floor, let him be put to death by stoning: and let him not be thought fit for food: But if his owner be convicted as having known what his nature was, and hath not kept him up, let him also be put to death, as being the occasion of the ox's having killed a man. But if the ox have killed a man-servant, or a maid-servant, let him be stoned; and let the owner of the ox pay thirty shekels to the master of him that was slain; but if it be an ox that is thus smitten and killed, let both the oxen, that which smote the other, and that which was killed, be sold, and let the owners of them divide the price between them.

¹ This permission of redeeming the penalty with money is not in our copies, Exod. xxi. 23, 24, Lev. xxiv. 20, Deut. xix. 21.

37. Let those that dig a well or a pit be careful to lay planks over them, and so keep them shut up, not in order to hinder any person from drawing water, but that there may be no danger of falling into them: But if any one's beast fall into such a well or pit thus digged, and not shut up, and perish, let the owner pay its price to the owner of the beast. Let there be a battlement round the tops of your houses instead of a wall, that may prevent any persons from rolling down and perishing.

38. Let him that has received any thing in trust for another take care to keep it as a sacred and divine thing, and let no one invent any contrivance whereby to deprive him that hath intrusted it with him of the same, and this whether he be a man or a woman, no not although he or she were to gain an immense sum of gold, and this where he cannot be convicted of it by any body, for it is fit that a man's own conscience, which knows what he hath, should in all cases oblige him to do well. Let this conscience be his witness, and make him always act so as may procure him commendation from others; but let him chiefly have regard to God, from whom no wicked man can lie concealed: But if he in whom the trust was reposed, without any deceit of his own, lose what he is intrusted withal, let him come before the seven judges, and swear by God, that nothing hath been lost willingly, or with a wicked intention, and that he hath not made use of any part thereof, and so let him depart without blame; but if he hath made use of the least part of what was committed to him, and it be lost, let him be condemned to repay all that he had received, after the same manner as in these trusts it is to be, if any one defraud those that undergo bodily labour for him. And let it be always remembered, that we are not to defraud a poor man of his

wages, as being sensible that God has allotted that wages to him instead of land, and other possessions; nay, this payment is not at all to be delayed, but to be made that very day, since God is not willing to deprive the labourer of the immediate use of what he hath laboured for.

39. You are not to punish children for the faults of their parents, but on account of their own virtue rather to vouchsafe them commiseration, because they were born of wicked parents, than hatred, because they were born of bad ones. Nor indeed ought we to impute the sin of children to their fathers, while young persons indulge themselves in many practices different from what they have been instructed in, and this by their proud refusal of such instruction.

40. Let those that have made themselves eunuchs be had in detestation: and do you avoid any conversation with them, who have deprived themselves of their manhood, and of that fruit of generation which God has given to men for the increase of their kind: Let such be driven away, as if they had killed their children, since they beforehand have lost what should procure them; for evident it is, that while their soul is become effeminate, they have withal transfused that effeminacy to their body also. In like manner do you treat all that is of a monstrous nature when it is looked on; nor is it lawful to ¹ geld either man or any other animals.

41. Let this be the constitution of your political laws in time of peace; and God will be so merciful as to preserve this excellent settlement free from disturbance: And may that time never come which may innovate any thing, and change it for the contrary. But since it must

¹ This law against castration, even of brutes, is said to be so rigorous elsewhere, as to inflict death on him that does it, which seems only a Pharisaical interpretation in the days of Josephus of that law, Lev. xxi. 20, and xxii. 24, only we may hence observe, that the Jews could then have no oxen which are gelt, but only bulls and cows in Judea.

needs happen that mankind fall into troubles and dangers, either undesignedly, or intentionally, come let us make a few constitutions concerning them, that so being apprised beforehand what ought to be done, you may have salutary counsels ready when you want them, and may not then be obliged to go to seek what is to be done, and so be unprovided, and fall into dangerous circumstances. May you be a laborious people, and exercise your souls in virtuous actions, and thereby possess and inherit the land without wars, while neither any foreigners make war upon it, and so afflict you, nor any internal sedition seize upon it, whereby you may do things that are contrary to your fathers, and so lose the laws which they have established. And may you continue in the observation of those laws which God hath approved of, and hath delivered to you. Let all sort of warlike operations, whether they befall you now in your own time, or hereafter in the times of your posterity, be done out of your own borders: But when you are about to go to war, send embassages and heralds to those who are your voluntary enemies, for it is a right thing to make use of words to them before you come to your weapons of war; and assure them thereby, that although you have a numerous army, with horses and weapons, and above these, a God merciful to you, and ready to assist you, you do however desire them not to compel you to fight against them, nor to take from them what they have, which will indeed be your gain, but what they will have no reason to wish we should take to ourselves. And if they hearken to you, it will be proper for you to keep peace with them; but if they trust on their own strength, as superior to yours, and will not do you justice, lead your army against them, making use of God as your supreme commander, but ordaining for a lieutenant under him, one that is of the greatest courage among you; for these different commanders,

besides their being an obstacle to actions that are to be done on the sudden, are a disadvantage to those that make use of them. Lead an army pure, and of chosen men, composed of all such as have extraordinary strength of body, and hardiness of soul; but do you send away the timorous part, lest they run away in the time of action, and so afford an advantage to your enemies. Do you also give leave to those who have lately built them houses, and have not yet lived in them a year's time; and to those who have planted them vineyards, and have not yet been partakers of their fruits, to continue in their own country, as well as those also who have betrothed, or lately married them wives, lest they have such affection for these things that they be too sparing of their lives, and by reserving themselves for these enjoyments, they become voluntary cowards (on account of their wives.)

42. When you have pitched your camp, take care that you do nothing that is cruel. And when you are engaged in a siege, and want timber for the making of warlike engines, do not you render the land naked, by cutting down trees that bear fruit, but spare them, as considering that they were made for the benefit of men; and that if they could speak, they would have a just plea against you; because, though they are not occasions of the war, they are unjustly treated, and suffer in it, and would, if they were able, remove themselves into another land. When you have beaten your enemies in battle, slay those that have fought against you; but preserve the others alive, that they may pay you tribute, excepting the nation of the enemies, for as to that people you must entirely destroy them.

43. Take care, especially in your battles, that no woman use the habit of a man, nor man the garment of a woman.

44. This was the form of political government

which was left us by Moses. Moreover he had already delivered laws in writing, in the fortieth year [after they came out of Egypt] concerning which we will discourse in another book. But now on the following days, (for he called them to assemble continually,) he delivered blessings to them, and curses upon those that should not live according to the laws, but should transgress the duties that were determined for them to observe. After this, he read to them a poetic song, which was composed in hexameter verse, and left it to them in the holy book: It contained a prediction of what was to come to pass afterward. Agreeably whereto all things have happened all along; and do still happen to us; and wherein he has not at all deviated from the truth. Accordingly he delivered these books to the ¹ priests, with the ark; into which he also put the ten commandments, written in two tables. He delivered to them the tabernacles also; and exhorted the people that when they had conquered the land, and were settled in it, they should not forget the injuries of the Amalekites, but make war against them, and inflict punishment upon them, for what mischief they did them, when they were in the wilderness: and that when they had got possession of the land of the Canaanites, and when they destroyed the whole multitude of its inhabitants, as they ought to do, they should erect an altar that should face the rising sun, not far from the city of Shechem, between the two mountains, that of Gerizzim situate on the right hand, and that called Ebal on the left; and that the army should be so divided, that six tribes should stand upon each of the two mountains, and with them the Levites and the priests. And that first, those that were upon mount Gerizzim should pray for the best blessings upon those who were diligent about the

¹ What laws were now delivered to the priests, see the note on Antiq. B. III. ch. i. sect. 7.

worship of God, and the observation of his laws, and who did not reject what Moses had said to them; while the other wished them all manner of happiness also: And when these last put up the like prayers, the former praised them. After this, curses were denounced upon those that should transgress those laws, they answering one another alternately, by way of confirmation of what had been said. Moses also wrote their blessings and their curses, that they might learn them so thoroughly, that they might never be forgotten by length of time. And when he was ready to die, he wrote these blessings and curses upon the altar on each side of it; where he says also the people stood, and then sacrificed and offered burnt offerings, though after that day they never offered upon it any other sacrifice, for it was not lawful so to do. These are the constitutions of Moses; and the Hebrew nation still live according to them.

45. On the next day, Moses called the people together, with the women and children to a congregation, so as the very slaves were present also, that they might engage themselves to the observation of these laws by oath; and that duly considering the meaning of God in them, they might not, either for favour of their kindred, or out of fear of any one, or indeed for any motive whatsoever, think any thing ought to be preferred in these laws, and so might transgress them. That in case any one of their own blood, or any city, should attempt to confound or dissolve their constitution of government, they should take vengeance upon them, both all in general, and each person in particular; and when they had conquered them, should overturn their city to the very foundations, and if possible, should not leave the least footsteps of such madness: But that if they were not able to take such vengeance, they should still demonstrate, that what was done was

contrary to their wills. So the multitude bound themselves by oath so to do.

46. Moses taught them also by what means their sacrifices might be the most acceptable to God; and how they should go forth to war, making use of ¹ the stones [in the high priest's breast] for their direction, as I have before signified. Joshua also prophesied while Moses was present. And when Moses had recapitulated whatsoever he had done for the preservation of the people, both in their wars, and in peace, and had composed them a body of laws, and procured them an excellent form of government, he foretold, as God had declared to him: "That if they transgressed that institution for the worship of God, they should experience the following miseries: their land should be full of weapons of war from their enemies, and their cities should be overthrown, and their temple should be burnt; that they should be sold for slaves, to such men as would have no pity on them in their afflictions: that they would then repent, when that repentance would no way profit them under their sufferings. Yet, said he, will that God who founded your nation, restore your cities to your citizens, with their temple also, and you shall lose these advantages not once only, but often."

47. Now when Moses had encouraged Joshua to lead out the army against the Canaanites, by telling him that God would assist him in all his undertakings, and had blessed the whole multitude, he said, "Since I am going to my fore-fathers, and God has deter-

¹ Dr. Bernard well observes here, how unfortunate this neglect of consulting the Urim was to Joshua himself, in the case of the Gibeonites, who put a trick upon him, and ensnared him, together with the rest of the Jewish rulers, with a solemn oath to preserve them, contrary to his commission to extirpate all the Canaanites root and branch; which oath he and the other rulers never durst break. See Scripture Politics, pp. 55, 56, and this snare they were brought into, because they "did not ask counsel at the mouth of the Lord." Josh. ix. 14.

mined that this should be the day of my departure to them, I return him thanks while I am still alive, and present with you, for that providence he hath exercised over you, which hath not only delivered us from the miseries we lay under, but hath bestowed a state of prosperity upon us; as also, that he hath assisted me in the pains I took, and in all the contrivances I had in my care about you, in order to better your condition, and hath on all occasions showed himself favourable to us; or rather he it was who first conducted our affairs, and brought them to an happy conclusion; by making use of me as a vicarious general under him, and as a minister in those matters wherein he was willing to do you good: On which account I think it proper to bless that divine power which will take care of you for the time to come, and this in order to repay that debt, which I owe him and to leave behind me a memorial that we are obliged to worship and honour him, and to keep those laws which are the most excellent gift of all those he hath already bestowed upon us, or which, if he continue favourable to us, he will bestow upon us hereafter. Certainly an human legislator is a terrible enemy, when his laws are affronted, and are made to no purpose. And may you never experience that displeasure of God, which will be the consequence of the neglect of these his laws, which he, who is your Creator, hath given you!"

48. When Moses had spoken thus at the end of his life, and had foretold what would befall ¹ to every one of their tribes afterward, with the addition of a blessing to them, the multitude fell into tears, insomuch, that even the women, by beating their breasts, made mani-

¹ Since Josephus assures us here, as is most naturally to be supposed, and as the Septuagint gives the text, Deut. xxxiii. 6, that Moses blessed every one of the tribes of Israel, it is evident that Simeon was not omitted in his copy, as it unhappily now is, both in our Hebrew and Samaritan copies.

fest the deep concern they had when he was about to die. The children also lamented still more, as not able to contain their grief; and thereby declared, that even at their age they were sensible of his virtue, and mighty deeds: and truly there seemed to be a strife between the young and the old, who should most grieve for him. The old grieved, because they knew what a careful protector they were to be deprived of, and so lamented their future state; but the young grieved not only for that, but also because it so happened that they were to be left by him before they had well tasted of his virtue. Now one may make a guess at the excess of this sorrow and lamentation of the multitude, from what happened to the legislator himself; for although he was always persuaded that he ought not to be cast down at the approach of death, since the undergoing it was agreeable to the will of God, and the law of nature, yet what the people did, so overbore him that he wept himself. Now as he went thence to the place where he was to vanish out of their sight, they all followed after him weeping, but Moses beckoned with his hand to those that were remote from him, and bid them stay behind in quiet, while he exhorted those that were near to him that they would not render his departure so lamentable. Whereupon they thought they ought to grant him that favour, to let him depart according as he himself desired, so they restrained themselves, though weeping still towards one another. All those who accompanied him, were the senate, and Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua their commander. Now as soon as they were come to the mountain called *Abarim*, (which is a very high mountain situate over against Jericho, and one that affords to such as are upon it a prospect of the greatest part of the excellent land of Canaan,) he dismissed the senate: and as he was going to embrace Eleazar and Joshua, and was still dis-

coursing with them, a cloud stood over him on the sudden, and he disappeared in a certain valley, although he wrote in the holy books that he died, which was done out of fear lest they should venture to say, that because of his extraordinary virtue he went to God.

49. Now Moses lived in all, one hundred and twenty years; a third part of which time, abating one month, he was the people's ruler: And he died on the last month of the year, which is called by the Macedonians *Dystrus*, but by us *Adar*, on the first day of the month. He was one that exceeded all men that ever were, in understanding, and made the best use of what that understanding suggested to him. He had a very graceful way of speaking, and addressing himself to the multitude, and as to his other qualifications, he had such a full command of his passions, as if he hardly had any such in his soul, and only knew them by their names, as rather perceiving them in other men than in himself. He was also such a general of an army as is seldom seen, as well as such a prophet as was never known, and this to such a degree, that whatsoever he pronounced you would think you heard the voice of God himself. So the people mourned for him thirty days: Nor did ever any grief so deeply affect the Hebrews as did this upon the death of Moses: nor were those that had experienced his conduct the only persons that desired him, but those also that perused the laws he left behind him, had a strong desire after him, and by them gathered the extraordinary virtue he was master of. And this shall suffice for the declaration of the manner of the death of Moses.

BOOK V.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF FOUR HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIX YEARS.

[FROM THE DEATH OF MOSES TO THE DEATH OF ELI.]

CHAPTER I.

How Joshua, the commander of the Hebrews, made war with the Canaanites, and overcame them, and destroyed them, and divided their land by lot to the tribes of Israel.

1. WHEN Moses was taken away from among men, in the manner already described, and when all the solemnities belonging to the mourning for him were finished, and the sorrow for him was over, Joshua commanded the multitude to get themselves ready for an expedition. He also sent spies to Jericho, to discover what forces they had; and what were their intentions, but he put his camp in order, as intending soon to pass over Jordan at a proper season. And calling to him the rulers of the tribe of Reubel, and the governors of the tribe of Gad, and [the half tribe of] Manasseh, for half of this tribe have been permitted to have their habitation in the country of the Amorites, which was the ¹ seventh part of the land of Canaan, he put them

¹ The Amorites were one of the seven nations of Canaan: Hence Reland is willing to suppose that Josephus did not here mean that their land beyond Jordan was a seventh part of the whole land of Canaan, but

in mind what they had promised Moses; and he exhorted them, that for the sake of the care that Moses had taken of them, who had never been weary of taking pains for them, no not when he was dying, and for the sake of the public welfare, they would prepare themselves, and readily perform what they had promised; so he took fifty thousand of them, who followed him, and he marched from Abila to Jordan, sixty furlongs.

2. Now when he had pitched his camp, the spies came to him immediately, well acquainted with the whole state of the Canaanites: For at first, before they were at all discovered, they took a full view of the city Jericho without disturbance, and saw which parts of the walls were strong, and which parts were otherwise, and indeed insecure, and which of the gates were so weak as might afford an entrance to their army. Now those that met them took no notice of them when they saw them, and supposed they were only strangers, who used to be very curious in observing every thing in the city, and did not take them for enemies; but at even they retired to a certain inn that was near to the wall, whither they went to eat their supper; which supper when they had done, and were considering how to get away, information was given to the king as he was at supper, that there were some persons come

meant the Amorites as a seventh nation. His reason is, that Josephus as well as our Bibles, generally distinguish the *land beyond Jordan* from the land of Canaan; nor can it be denied, that in strictness, they were different; yet after two tribes and a half of the twelve tribes came to inherit it, it might in a general way altogether, be well included under the land of Canaan, or Palestine, or Judea; of which we have a clear example here before us in Josephus, whose words evidently imply, that taking the whole land of Canaan, or that inhabited by all the twelve tribes together, and parting it into seven parts, the part beyond Jordan was in quantity of ground one seventh part of the whole. And this well enough agrees to Reland's own map of that country, although this land beyond Jordan was so peculiarly fruitful and good for pasturage, as the two tribes and a half took notice, Num. xxxii. 1, 4, 16, that it maintained about a fifth part of the whole people.

from the Hebrews' camp, to view the city as spies, and that they were in the inn kept by Rahab, and were very solicitous that they might not be discovered; so he sent immediately some to them, and commanded to catch them, and bring them to him, that he might examine them by torture, and learn what their business was there. As soon as Rahab understood that these messengers were coming, she hid the spies under stalks of flax, which were laid to dry on the top of her house, and said to the messengers that were sent by the king, that certain unknown strangers had supped with her a little before sun-setting, and were gone away, who might easily be taken, if they were any terror to the city, or likely to bring any danger to the king: So these messengers being thus ¹ deluded by the woman, and suspecting no imposition, went their ways without so much as searching the inn, but they immediately pursued them along those roads which they most probably supposed them to have gone, and those particularly which led to the river, but could hear no tidings of them; so they left off the pains of any farther pursuit. But when the tumult was over, Rahab brought the men down, and desired them, as

¹ It plainly appears by the history of these spies, and the inn-keeper Rahab's deception of the king of Jericho's messengers, by telling them that was false in order to save the lives of the spies, and yet the great commendation of her faith and good works in the New Testament, Heb. i. 31, James ii. 25, as well as by many other parallel examples both in the Old Testament and Josephus, that the best men did not then scruple to deceive those public enemies, who might justly be destroyed; as also might deceive ill men, in order to save life, and deliver themselves from the tyranny of their unjust oppressors, and this by telling direct falsehoods; I mean all this where no oath was demanded of them, otherwise they never durst venture on such a procedure. Nor was Josephus himself of any other opinion or practice, as I shall remark in the note on Antiq. B. IX. ch. iv. sect. 3, and observe, that I still call this woman Rahab, an *inn-keeper*, not an *harlot*, the whole history both in our copies, and especially in Josephus, implying no more. It was indeed so frequent a thing, that women who were inn-keepers were also harlots, or maintainers of harlots, that the word commonly used for real harlots was usually given them. See Judges xi. 1, and Antiq. B. V. ch. vii. sect. 8.

soon as they should have obtained possession of the land of Canaan, when it would be in their power to make her amends for her preservation of them, to remember what danger she had undergone for their sakes; for that if she had been caught concealing them, she could not have escaped a terrible destruction, she and all her family with her, and so bid them go home: and desired them to swear to her, to preserve her and her family, when they should take the city, and destroy all its inhabitants, as they had decreed to do, for so far she said she had been assured by those divine miracles of which she had been informed. So these spies acknowledged, that they owed her thanks for what she had done already, and withal swore to requite her kindness, not only in words but in deeds: But they gave her this advice, that when she should perceive that the city was about to be taken, she should put her goods, and all her family, by way of security in her inn, and to hang out scarlet threads before her doors, [or windows,] that the commander of the Hebrews might know her house, and take care to do her no harm; for, said they, we will inform him of this matter, because of the concern thou hast had to preserve us: But if any one of thy family fall in the battle, do not thou blame us; and we beseech that God, by whom we have sworn, not then to be displeased with us, as though we had broken our oaths. So these men, when they had made this agreement, went away, letting themselves down by a rope from the wall, and escaped, and came and told their own people whatsoever they had done in their journey to this city. Joshua also told Eleazar, the high priest, and the senate, what the spies had sworn to Rahab, who confirmed what had been sworn.

3. Now while Joshua the commander was in fear about their passing over Jordan, for the river ran

with a strong current, and could not be passed over with bridges, for there never had been bridges laid over it hitherto, and while he suspected, that if he should attempt to make a bridge, that the enemies would not afford him time to perfect it, and for ferry-boats they had none, God promised so to dispose of the river that they might pass over it, and that by taking away the main part of its waters. So Joshua, after two days, caused the army and the whole multitude to pass over in the manner following: The priests went first of all, having the ark with them; then went the Levites bearing the tabernacle and the vessels which belonged to the sacrifices; after which the entire multitude followed according to their tribes, having their children and their wives in the midst of them, as being afraid for them lest they should be borne away by the stream. But as soon as the priests had entered the river first, it appeared fordable, the depth of the water being restrained, and the sand appearing at the bottom, because the current was neither so strong nor so swift as to carry it away by its force, so they all passed over the river without fear, finding it to be in the very same state as God had foretold he would put it in, but the priests stood still in the midst of the river till the multitude should be passed over, and should get to the shore in safety; and when all were gone over, the priests came out also; and permitted the current to run freely as it used to do before. Accordingly the river, as soon as the Hebrews were come out of it arose again presently, and came to its own proper magnitude as before.

4. So the Hebrews went on farther fifty furlongs, and pitched their camp at the distance of ten furlongs from Jericho: But Joshua built an altar of those stones, which all the heads of the tribes, at the command of the prophet had taken out of the deep, to be

afterwards a memorial of the division of the stream of this river, and upon it offered sacrifice to God; and in that place celebrated the passover, and had great plenty of all the things which they wanted hitherto, for they reaped the corn of the Canaanites, which was now ripe, and took other things as prey, for then it was that their former food, which was manna, and of which they had eaten forty years failed them.

5. Now while the Israelites did this, and the Canaanites did not attack them, but kept themselves quiet within their own walls, Joshua resolved to besiege them; so on the first day of the feast [of the passover,] the priests carried the ark, round about which was some part of the armed men, to be a guard to it. These priests went forward, blowing with their seven trumpets; and exhorted the army to be of good courage, and went round about the city, with the senate following them; and when the priests had only blown with the trumpets, for they did nothing more at all, they returned to the camp. And when they had done this for six days, on the seventh Joshua gathered together the armed men, and all the people together, and told them this good tidings, that the city should now be taken, since God would on that day give it them by the falling down of the walls, and this of their own accord, and without their labour. However, he charged them to kill every one they should take, and not to abstain from the slaughter of their enemies, either for weariness, or for pity, and not to fall on the spoil, and be thereby diverted from pursuing their enemies, as they ran away; but to destroy all the animals, and to take nothing for their own peculiar advantage. He commanded them also to bring together all the silver and gold, that it might be set apart as first fruits unto God out of this glorious exploit, as having gotten them from

the city they first took; only that they should save Rahab and her kindred alive; because of the oath which the spies had sworn to her.

6. When he had said this, and had set his army in order, he brought it against the city; so they went round the city again, the ark going before them, and the priests encouraging the people to be zealous in the work: and when they had gone round it seven times, and had stood still a little, the wall fell down, while no instruments of war, nor any other force, was applied to it by the Hebrews.

7. So they entered into Jericho, and slew all the men that were therein, while they were affrighted at the surprising overthrow of the walls, and their courage was become useless, and they were not able to defend themselves; so they were slain, and their throats cut, some in the ways, and others as caught in their houses; nothing afforded them assistance, but they all perished even to the women and the children: and the city was filled with dead bodies, and not one person escaped. They also burnt the whole city, and the country about it; but they saved alive Rahab with her family who had fled to her inn. And when she was brought to him, Joshua owned to her, that they owed her thanks for her preservation of the spies: So he said, he would not appear to be behind her in his benefaction to her; whereupon he gave her certain lands immediately, and had her in great esteem ever afterwards.

8. And if any part of the city escaped the fire, he overthrew it from the foundation; and he denounced a¹ curse against its inhabitants, if any one should desire

¹ Upon occasion of this devoting of Jericho to destruction, and the exemplary punishment of Achar, who broke that *cherema* or *anathema*, and of the punishment of the future breaker of it, Hiel, 1 Kings xvi. 34, as also of the punishment of Saul, for breaking the like *cherem*, or *anathema*, against the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xv. We may observe what was

to rebuild it, how, upon his laying the foundation of the walls, he should be deprived of his eldest son, and upon finishing it, he should lose his youngest son. But what happened hereupon we shall speak of hereafter.

9. Now there was an immense quantity of silver and gold, and besides those of brass also, that was heaved together out of the city when it was taken, no one transgressing the decree, nor purloining for their own peculiar advantage: which spoils Joshua delivered to the priests, to be laid up among their treasures. And thus did Jericho perish.

10. But there was one ¹*Achar*, the son [of Charmi, the son] of Zebedias, of the tribe of Judah, who finding a royal garment woven entirely of gold, and a piece of gold that weighed ² two hundred shekels, and thinking it a very hard case, that what spoils he, by running some hazard had found, he must give away, and offer it to God, who stood in no need of it, while he that wanted it must go without it, made a deep ditch in his own tent, and laid them up therein, as sup-

the true meaning of that law, Lev. xxvii. 28. "None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be redeemed; but shall surely be put to death," i. e. whenever any of the Jews' public enemies had been, for their wickedness, solemnly devoted to destruction, according to the divine command, as were generally the seven wicked nations of Canaan, and those sinners the Amalekites, 1 Sam. xv. 18, it was utterly unlawful to permit those enemies to be redeemed, but they were to be utterly destroyed. See also Num. xxi. 2, 3.

¹ That the name of this chief was not *Achan*, as in the common copies, but *Achar*, as here in Josephus, and in the Apostolical Constitut. B. VII. ch. ii. and elsewhere, is evident by the allusion to that name in the curse of Joshua, "Why hast thou troubled us? The Lord shall trouble thee," where the Hebrew words allude only to the name *Achar*, but not *Achan*. Accordingly this valley of Achar or Achor, was, and is a known place, a little north of Gilgal, so called from the days of Joshua till this day. See Josh. vii. 26, Isa. lxx. 10, Hos. ii. 15.

² Here Dr. Bernard very justly observes, that a few words are dropped out of Josephus' copies, on account of the repetition of the word *shekels*, and that it ought to be read thus, "A piece of gold that weighed 50 shekels, and one of silver that weighed 200 shekels," as in our other copies, Joshua vii. 21.

posing, he should not only be concealed from his fellow-soldiers, but from God himself also.

11. Now the place where Joshua pitched his camp was called *Gilgal*, which denotes ¹ *liberty*; for since now they had passed over Jordan, they looked on themselves as freed from the miseries which they had undergone from the Egyptians, and in the wilderness.

12. Now a few days after the calamity that befell Jericho, Joshua sent three thousand armed men to take Ai, a city situate above Jericho; but upon the sight of the people of Ai, with them they were driven back, and lost thirty-six of their men. When this was told the Israelites, it made them very sad, and exceeding disconsolate, not so much because of the relation the men that were destroyed bare to them, though those that were destroyed were all good men, and deserved their esteem, as by the despair it occasioned; for while they believed that they were already, in effect, in possession of the land, and should bring back the army out of the battles without loss, as God had promised beforehand, they now saw unexpectedly their enemies bold with success, so they put sackcloth over their garments, and continued in tears and lamentation all the day, without the least inquiry after food, but laid what had happened greatly to heart.

13. When Joshua saw the army so much afflicted, and possessed with forebodings of evil as to their whole expedition, he used freedom with God and said, "We are not come thus far out of any rashness of our own, as though we thought ourselves able to subdue this land with our own weapons, but at the instigation of Moses thy servant, for this purpose, because thou hast promised us by many signs, that thou wouldst give us

¹ I agree here with Dr. Bernard, and approve of Josephus' interpretation of *Gilgal* for *liberty*. See Josh. v. 9.

this land for a possession, and that thou wouldst make our army always superior in war to our enemies, and accordingly some success has already attended upon us agreeably to thy promises; but because we have now unexpectedly been foiled, and have lost some men out of our army, we are grieved at it, as fearing what thou hast promised us, and what Moses foretold us, cannot be depended on by us; and our future expectation troubles us the more, because we have met with such a disaster in this our first attempt. But do thou, O Lord, free us from these suspicions, for thou art able to find a cure for these disorders, by giving us victory, which will both take away the grief we are in at present, and prevent our distrust as to what is to come.”

14. These intercessions Joshua put up to God, as he lay prostrate on his face: whereupon God answered him, “That he should rise up, and purify his host from the pollution which was got into it; that things consecrated to me have been impudently stolen from me; and that this has been the occasion why this defeat has happened to them; and that when they should search out and punish the offender, he would ever take care they should have the victory over their enemies.” This Joshua told the people; and calling for Eleazar the high priest, and the men in authority, he cast lots, tribe by tribe, and when the lot showed that this wicked action was done by one of the tribe of Judah, he then again proposed the lot to the several families thereto belonging, so the truth of this wicked action was found to belong to the family of Zachar; and when the inquiry was made man by man, they took Achar, who, upon God’s reducing him to a terrible extremity, could not deny the fact: So he confessed the theft, and produced what he had taken in the midst of them, whereupon he was immediately put to death: and attained no more than to be buried in the night in a disgraceful

manner, and such as was suitable to a condemned malefactor.

15. When Joshua had thus purified the host, he led them against Ai; And having by night laid an ambush round about the city, he attacked the enemies as soon as it was day; but as they advanced boldly against the Israelites, because of their former victory, he made them believe he retired, and by that means drew them a great way from the city, they still supposing that they were pursuing their enemies, and despised them as though the case had been the same with that in the former battle, after which Joshua ordered his forces to turn about, and placed them against their front: He then made the signals agreed upon to those that lay in ambush, and so excited them to fight; so they ran suddenly into the city, the inhabitants being upon the walls, nay others of them being in perplexity, and coming to see those that were without the gates. Accordingly these men took the city, and slew all that they met with, but Joshua forced those that came against him, to come to a close fight, and discomfited them, and made them run away, and when they were driven towards the city, and thought it had not been touched; as soon as they saw it was taken, and perceived it was burnt, with their wives and children, they wandered about in the fields in a scattered condition, and were no way able to defend themselves, because they had none to support them. Now when this calamity was come upon the men of Ai, there were a great number of children, and women, and servants, and an immense quantity of other furniture. The Hebrews also took herds of cattle, and a great deal of money, for this was a rich country. So when Joshua came to Gilgal, he divided all these spoils among the soldiers.

16. But the Gibeonites, who inhabited very near to

Jerusalem, when they saw what miseries had happened to the inhabitants of Jericho, and to those of Ai, and suspected that the like sore calamity would come as far as themselves, they did not think fit to ask for mercy of Joshua, for they supposed they should find little mercy from him, who made war, that he might entirely destroy the nation of the Canaanites, but they invited the people of Cephirah and Kiriathjearim, who were their neighbours, to join in league with them; and told them, that neither could they themselves avoid the danger they were all in, if the Israelites should prevent them, and seize upon them; So when they had persuaded them, they resolved to endeavour to escape the forces of the Israelites. Accordingly, upon their agreement to what they proposed, they sent ambassadors to Joshua, to make a league of friendship with him, and those such of the citizens as were best approved of, and most capable of doing what was most advantageous to the multitude. Now these ambassadors thought it dangerous to confess themselves to be Canaanites, but thought they might, by this contrivance, avoid the danger, namely by saying that they bare no relation to the Canaanites at all, but dwelt at a very great distance from them: and they said farther, that they came a long way on account of the reputation he had gained for his virtue; and as a mark of the truth of what they said, they showed him the habit they were in; for that their clothes were new when they came out, but were greatly worn by the length of time they had been in their journey, for indeed they took torn garments, on purpose that they might make him believe so. So they stood in the midst of the people, and said that they were sent by the people of Gibeon, and of the circumjacent cities, which were very remote from the land where they now were, to make such a league of friendship with them,

and this on such conditions as were customary among their forefathers; for when they understood, that, by the favour of God, and his gift to them, they were to have the possession of the land of Canaan bestowed upon them, they said, that they were very glad to hear it, and desired to be admitted into the number of their citizens. Thus did these ambassadors speak, and showing them the marks of their long journey, they entreated the Hebrews to make a league of friendship with them. Accordingly Joshua believing what they said, and that they were not of the nation of the Canaanites, entered into friendship with them; and Eleazar the high priest, with the senate, sware to them that they would esteem them their friends and associates, and would attempt nothing that should be unfair against them, the multitude also assenting to the oaths that were made to them. So these men having obtained what they desired, by deceiving the Israelites, went home: but when Joshua led his army to the country at the bottom of the mountains of this part of Canaan, he understood that the Gibeonites dwelt not far from Jerusalem, and that they were of the stock of the Canaanites, so he sent for their governors, and reproached them with the cheat they had put upon him; but they alleged on their own behalf, that they had no other way to save themselves but that, and were therefore forced to have recourse to it. So he called for Eleazar the high priest, and for the senate, who thought it right to make them public servants, that they might not break the oath they had made to them, and they ordained them to be so. And this was the method by which these men found safety and security under the calamity that was ready to overtake them.

17. But the king of Jerusalem took it to heart that the Gibeonites had gone over to Joshua, so he called upon the kings of the neighbouring nations to join to-

gether, and make war against them. Now, when the Gibeonites saw these kings, which were four besides the king of Jerusalem, and perceived that they had pitched their camp at a certain fountain not far from their city, and were getting ready for the siege of it, they called upon Joshua to assist them; for such was their case, as to expect to be destroyed by these Canaanites, but to suppose they should be saved by those that came for the destruction of the Canaanites, because of the league of friendship that was between them. Accordingly Joshua made haste with his whole army to assist them, and marching day and night, in the morning he fell upon the enemies as they were going up to the siege, and when he had discomfited them, he followed them, and pursued them down the descent of the hills. The place is called *Beth-horon*; where he also understood that God assisted him, which he declared by thunder and thunder-bolts, as also by the falling of hail larger than usual. Moreover ¹ it happened that the day was lengthened, that the night might not come on too soon, and be an obstruction to the zeal of the Hebrews in pursuing their enemies, insomuch, that Joshua took the kings, which were

¹ Whether this lengthening of the day, by the standing still of the sun and moon were physical and real, by the miraculous stoppage of the diurnal motion of the earth for about half a revolution, or whether only apparent, by aerial *phosphori* imitating the sun and moon as stationary so long, while clouds and the night hid the real ones, and this parhelion, or mock sun affording sufficient light for Joshua's pursuit and complete victory, (which aerial *phosphori* in other shapes have been more than ordinarily common of late years,) cannot now be determined, philosophers and astronomers will naturally incline to this later hypothesis. In the mean time, the fact itself was mentioned in the book of Jasher, now lost, Josh. x. 13, and is confirmed of Isa. xxviii. 21, by Habakkuk, B. III. ch. xi. and by the father of Sirach, Eccles. xlvi. 4, in the 19th Wisdom of Solomon, ver. 18th, it is also said of the luminaries, with relation, no doubt, to this and the like miraculous standing still and going back, in the days of Joshua and Hezekiah, "They have not wandered from the day that he created them; they have not forsaken their way from ancient generations, unless it were when God enjoined them [*so to do*] by the command of his servants."

hidden in a certain cave at Makkedah, and put them to death. Now that the day was lengthened at this time, and was longer than ordinary, is expressed in the books ¹ laid up in the temple.

18. Those kings which made war with, and were ready to fight the Gibeonites, being thus overthrown, Joshua returned again to the mountainous parts of Canaan; and when he had made a great slaughter of the people there, and took their prey, he came to the camp at Gilgal. And now there went a great fame abroad among the neighbouring people of the courage of the Hebrews, and those that heard what a number of men were destroyed, were greatly affrighted at it: So the kings that lived about mount Libanus, who were Canaanites, and those Canaanites that dwelt in the plain country, with auxiliaries out of the land of the Philistines, pitched their camp at Beroth, a city of the upper Galilee, not far from Kadesh, which is itself also a place in Galilee. Now the number of the whole army was three hundred thousand armed footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand chariots, so that the multitude of the enemies affrighted both Joshua himself, and the Israelites; and they instead of being full of hope of good success, were superstitiously timorous, with the great terror with which they were stricken. Whereupon God upbraided them with the fear they were in; and asked them, Whether they desired a greater help than he could afford them? and promised them that they should overcome their enemies: and withal charged them to make their enemies' horses useless, and to burn their chariots. So Joshua became full of courage upon these promises of God, and went out suddenly against the enemies, and after five days' march he came upon them, and joined battle

¹ Of the books laid up in the temple, see note on Antiq. B. III. ch. i. sect. 7.

with them, and there was a terrible fight, and such a number were slain as could not be believed by those that heard it. He also went on in the pursuit a great way, and destroyed the entire army of the enemies, few only excepted, and all the kings fell in the battle; insomuch, that when they wanted men to be killed, Joshua slew their horses, and burnt their chariots, and passed all over their country without opposition, no one daring to meet him in battle; but he still went on, taking their cities by siege, and again killing whatever he took.

19. The fifth year was now past, and there was not one of the Canaanites remained any longer, excepting some that had retired to places of great strength. So Joshua removed his camp to the mountainous country, and placed the tabernacle in the city Shiloh, for that seemed a fit place for it, because of the beauty of its situation, until such time as their affairs would permit them to build a temple; and from thence he went to Shechem, together with all the people, and raised an altar where Moses had beforehand directed; then did he divide the army, and placed one half of them on mount Gerizzim, and the other half on mount Ebal, on which mountain the altar was; he also placed there the tribe of Levi, and the priests. And when they had sacrificed and denounced the [blessings and the] curses, and had left them engraven upon the altar, they returned to Shiloh.

20. And now Joshua was old, and saw that the cities of the Canaanites were not easily to be taken, not only because they were situate in such strong places, but because of the strength of the walls themselves, which being built round about the natural strength of the places on which the cities stood, seemed capable of repelling their enemies from besieging them, and of making those enemies despair of taking them;

for when the Canaanites had learned, that the Israelites came out of Egypt in order to destroy them, they were busy all that time in making their cities stronger; So he gathered the people together to a congregation at Shiloh; and when they, with great zeal and haste, were come thither, he observed to them what prosperous successes they had already had, and what glorious things had been done, and those such as were worthy of that God who enabled them to do those things, and worthy of the virtue of those laws which they followed. He took notice also, that thirty-one of those kings that ventured to give them battle were overcome, and every army, how great soever it were, that confided in their own power, and fought with them, was utterly destroyed, so that not so much as any of their posterity remained. And as for the cities, since some of them were taken, but the others must be taken in length of time, by long sieges, both on account of the strength of their walls, and of the confidence the inhabitants had in them thereby, he thought it reasonable that those tribes that came along with them from beyond Jordan, and had partaken of the dangers they had undergone, being their own kindred, should now be dismissed and sent home, and should have thanks for the pains they had taken together with them. As also, he thought it reasonable that they should send one man out of every tribe, and he such as had the testimony of extraordinary virtue, who should measure the land faithfully, and without any fallacy or deceit should inform them of its real magnitude.

21. Now Joshua, when he had thus spoken to them, found that the multitude approved of his proposal. So he sent men to measure their country, and sent with them some geometricians, who could not easily fail of knowing the truth, on account of their skill in

that art. He also gave them a charge to estimate the measure of that part of the land that was most fruitful, and what was not so good; for such is the nature of the land of Canaan, that one may see large plains, and such as are exceeding fit to produce fruit, which yet, if they were compared to other parts of the country, might be reckoned exceeding fruitful, yet if they be compared with the fields about Jericho, and to those that belong to Jerusalem, will appear to be of no account at all. And although it so falls out, that these people have but a very little of this sort of land, and that it is for the main, mountainous also, yet does it not come, behind other parts, on account of its exceeding goodness and beauty: for which reason Joshua thought the land for the tribes should be divided by estimation of its goodness, rather than the largeness of its measure, it often happening that one acre of some sorts of land was equivalent to a thousand other acres. Now the men that were sent, which were in number ten, travelled all about, and made an estimation of the land, and in the seventh month came to him to the city of Shiloh, where they had set up the tabernacle.

22. So Joshua took both Eleazar, and the senate, and with them the heads of the tribes, and distributed the land to the nine tribes, and to the half tribe of Manasseh, appointing the dimensions to be according to the largeness of each tribe. So when he had cast lots, Judah had assigned him by lot the upper part of Judea, reaching as far as Jerusalem, and its breadth extended to the lake of Sodom. Now in the lot of this tribe there were the cities of Ascalon and Gaza. The lot of Simeon, which was the second, included that part of Idumea, which bordered upon Egypt and Arabia. As to the Benjamites, their lot fell so, that its length reached from the river Jordan to the sea,

but in breadth it was bounded by Jerusalem and Bethel; and this lot was the narrowest of all, by reason of the goodness of the land, for it included Jericho, and the city of Jerusalem. The tribe of Ephraim had by lot the land that extended in length from the river Jordan to Gezer, but in breadth as far from Bethel till it end at the great plain. The half tribe of Manasseh had the land from Jordan to the city Dora, but its breadth was at Bethshan, which is now called *Scythopolis*. And after these was Issachar, which had its limits in length, mount Carmel and the river, but its limit in breadth was mount Tabor. The tribe of Zebulon's lot included the land which lay as far as the lake of Gennesareth, and that which belonged to Carmel and the sea. The tribe of Asser had that part which was called the *Valley*, for such it was, and all that part which lay over against Sidon. The city Arce belonged to their share, which is also named *Actipus*. The Naphtalites received the eastern parts, as far as the city of Damascus and the Upper Galilee, into mount Libanus, and the fountains of Jordan which rise out of that mountain; that is, out of that part of it whose limits belong to the neighbouring city Arce. The Danites' lot included all that part of the valley which respects the sun-setting, and were bounded by Azotus and Dora; as also they had all Jamnia and Gath, from Ekron to that mountain where the tribe of Judah begins.

23. After this manner did Joshua divide the six nations that bear the names of the sons of Canaan, with their land, to be possessed by the nine tribes and an half; for Moses had prevented him, and had already distributed the land of the Amorites, which itself was so called also from one of the sons of Canaan, to the two tribes and an half, as we have showed already: But the parts about Sidon, as also

those that belonged to the Arkites and the Amathites, and the Aradians, were not yet regularly disposed of.

24. But now was Joshua hindered by his age from executing what he intended to do, (as did those that succeeded him in the government, take little care of what was for the advantage of the public,) so he gave it in charge to every tribe, to leave no remainder of the race of the Canaanites in the land that had been divided to them by lot; that Moses had assured them beforehand, that they might rest fully satisfied about it, that their own security and their observation of their own laws depended wholly upon it. Moreover he enjoined them to give thirty-eight cities to the Levites, for they had already received ten in the country of the Amorites, and three of these he assigned to those that fled from the manslayers, who were to inhabit there; for he was very solicitous that nothing should be neglected which Moses had ordained. These cities were of the tribe of Judah, Hebron, and of that of Ephraim, Shechem, and of Naphtali, Kadesh, which is a place of the Upper Galilee. He also distributed among them the rest of the prey not yet distributed, which was very great, whereby they had an affluence of great riches, both all in general, and every one in particular; and this of gold and of vestments, and of other furniture, besides a multitude of cattle, whose number could not be told.

25. After this was over, he gathered the army together to a congregation; and spake thus to those tribes that had their settlement in the land of the Amorites beyond Jordan; for 50,000 of them had armed themselves, and had gone to the war along with them: "Since that God, who is the father and Lord of the Hebrew nation, has now given us this

land for a possession, and promised to preserve us in the enjoyment of it as our own for ever; and since you have with alacrity offered yourselves to assist us when we wanted that assistance, on all occasions according to his command; it is but just, now all our difficulties are over, that you should be permitted to enjoy rest, and that we should trespass on your alacrity to help us no longer, that so if we should again stand in need of it, we may readily have it on any future emergency, and not tire you out so much now as may make you slower in assisting us another time. We therefore return you our thanks, for the dangers you have undergone with us; and we do it not at this time only, but we shall always be thus disposed, and be so good as to remember our friends, and to preserve in mind what advantages we have had from them, and how you have put off the enjoyments of your own happiness for our sakes, and have laboured for what we have now, by the good will of God, obtained, and resolved not to enjoy your own prosperity till you had afforded us that assistance. However, you have, by joining your labour with ours, gotten great plenty of riches, and will carry home with you much prey, with gold and silver, and what is more than all these, our good will towards you, and a mind willingly disposed to make a requital of your kindness to us, in what case soever you shall desire it, for you have not omitted any thing which Moses beforehand required of you, nor have you despised him because he was dead and gone from you, so that there is nothing to diminish that gratitude which we owe to you. We therefore dismiss you joyful to your own inheritances; and we entreat you to suppose, that there is no limit to be set to the intimate relation that is between us; and that you will not imagine, that because this

river is interposed between us, that you are of a different race from us, and not Hebrews, for we are all the posterity of Abraham, both we that inhabit here, and you that inhabit there; and it is the same God that brought our forefathers and yours into the world, whose worship and form of government we are to take care of, which he has ordained; and are most carefully to observe, because while you continue in those laws, God will also show himself merciful and assisting to you; but if you imitate the other nations, and forsake those laws he will reject your nation." When Joshua had spoken thus, and saluted them all, both those in authority one by one, and the whole multitude in common, he himself stayed where he was, but the people conducted those tribes on their journey, and that not without tears in their eyes: and indeed they hardly knew how to part one from the other.

26. Now when the tribe of Reubel, and that of Gad, and as many of the Manassites as followed them, were passed over the river, they built an altar on the banks of Jordan, as a monument to posterity, and a sign of the relation to those that should inhabit on the other side: But when those on the other side heard that those who had been dismissed had built an altar, but did not hear with what intention they built it, but supposed it to be by way of innovation, and for the introduction of strange gods, they did not incline to disbelieve it, but thinking this defamatory report, as it were built for divine worship, was credible, they appeared in arms, as though they would avenge themselves on those that built the altar, and they were about to pass over the river, and to punish them for their subversion of the laws of their country, for they did not think it fit to regard them on account of their

kindred, or the dignity of those that had given the occasion, but to regard the will of God, and the manner wherein he desired to be worshipped, so these men put themselves in array for war: But Joshua, and Eleazar, the high priest, and the senate, restrained them; and persuaded them first to make trial by words of their intention, and afterwards if they found that their intention was evil, then only to proceed to make war upon them. Accordingly they sent as ambassadors to them Phineas, the son of Eleazar, and ten more persons that were in esteem among the Hebrews, to learn of them what was in their mind, when, upon passing over the river, they had built an altar upon its banks. But as soon as these ambassadors were passed over, and were come to them, and a congregation was assembled, Phineas stood up and said "That the offence they had been guilty of was of too heinous a nature to be punished by words alone, or by them only to be amended for the future; yet that they did not look at the heinousness of their transgression as to have recourse to arms, and to a battle for their punishment immediately, but that, on account of their kindred, and the probability there was that they might be reclaimed, they took this method of sending an ambassage to them, that when we have learned the true reasons by which you have been moved to build this altar, we may neither seem to have been too rash in assaulting you by our weapons of war, if it prove that you made the altar for justifiable reasons, and may then justly punish you if the accusation prove true: for we can hardly suppose that you who have been acquainted with the will of God, and have been hearers of those laws which he himself hath given us, now you are separated from us, and gone to that patrimony of yours, which

you, through the grace of God, and that providence he exercises over you, have obtained by lot, can forget him, and can leave that ark, and that altar which is peculiar to us, and can introduce strange gods, and imitate the wicked practices of the Canaanites. Now this will appear to have been a small crime if you repent now, and proceed no farther in your madness, but pay a due reverence to, and keep in mind the laws of your country; but if you persist in your sins, we will not grudge our pains to preserve our laws, but we will pass over Jordan and defend them, and defend God also, and shall esteem of you as of men no way differing from the Canaanites, but shall destroy you in the like manner as we destroyed them; for do not you imagine, that because you are got over the river that you are got out of the reach of God's power; you are every where in places that belong to him, and impossible it is to over-run his power, and the punishment he will bring on men thereby: But if you think that your settlement here will be any obstruction to your conversion to what is good, nothing need hinder us from dividing the land anew, and leaving this old land to be for the feeding of sheep; but you will do well to return to your duty, and to leave off these new crimes: and we beseech you by your children and wives, not to force us to punish you. Take therefore such measures in this assembly, as supposing that your own safety, and the safety of those that are dearest to you, is therein concerned, and believe that it is better for you to be conquered by words, than to continue to your purpose, and to experience deeds and war therefore."

27. When Phineas had discoursed thus, the governors of the assembly and the whole multitude, began to make an apology for themselves, concerning what

they were accused of, and they said, "That they neither would depart from the relation they bare to them, nor had they built the altar by way of innovation: and they owned one and the same common God with all the Hebrews, and that brazen altar which was before the tabernacle, on which they would offer their sacrifices: that as to the altar they had raised, on account of which they were thus suspected, it was not built for worship, but that it might be a sign and a monument of our relation to you for ever, and a necessary caution to us to act wisely, and to continue in the laws of our country, but not an handle for transgressing them, as you suspect: and let God be our authentic witness, that this was the occasion of our building this altar: Whence we beg you will have a better opinion of us, and do not impute such a thing to us as would render any of the posterity of Abraham well worthy of perdition, in case they attempt to bring in new rites, and such as are different from our usual practices."

28. When they had made this answer, and Phineas had commended them for it, he came to Joshua, and explained before the people what answer they had received: Now Joshua was glad that he was under no necessity of setting them in array, or of leading them to shed blood, and make war against men of their own kindred; and accordingly he offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God for the same: So Joshua after that dissolved this great assembly of the people, and sent them to their own inheritances, while he himself lived in Shechem. But in the twentieth year after this, when he was very old, he sent for those of the greatest dignity in the several cities, with those in authority, and the senate, and as many of the common people as could be present: and when they were come, he put them in mind of

all the benefits God had bestowed on them, which could not but be a great many, since from a low estate they were advanced to so great a degree of glory and plenty, and exhorted them to take notice of the intentions of God, which had been so gracious towards them; and told them, that the Deity would continue their friend by nothing else but their piety; and that it was proper for him, now he was about to depart out of this life, to leave such an admonition to them, and he desired that they would keep in memory this his exhortation to them.

29. So Joshua, when he had thus discoursed to them, died, having lived an hundred and ten years; forty of which he lived with Moses, in order to learn what might be for his advantage afterwards. He also became their commander after his death for twenty-five years. He was a man that wanted not wisdom, nor eloquence to declare his intentions to the people, but very eminent on both accounts. He was of great courage and magnanimity, in action and in dangers; and very sagacious in procuring the peace of the people, and of great virtue at all proper seasons. He was buried in the city Timnah, of the tribe of Ephraim. ¹ About the same time died Eleazar the high priest, leaving the high priesthood to his son Phineas. His monument also and sepulchre are in the city Gabbatha.

¹ Since not only Procopius and Suidas, but an earlier author, Moses Chorenensis, pp. 52, 53, and perhaps from his original author Mariba Catina, one as old as Alexander the Great, set down the famous inscription at Tanger concerning the old Canaanites driven out of Palestine by Joshua, take it here in that author's own words: "We are those exiles that were governors of the Canaanites, but have been driven away by Joshua the robber, and are come to inhabit here." See the note there. Nor is it unworthy of our notice what Moses Chorenensis adds, p. 53, and this upon a diligent examination, viz. that "one of those eminent men among the Canaanites came at the same time into Armenia, and founded the Genthunian family, or tribe: and that this was confirmed by the manners of the same family, or tribe, as being like those of the Canaanites."

CHAPTER II.

How after the death of Joshua their commander, the Israelites transgressed the laws of their country, and experienced great afflictions; and when there was a sedition arisen, the tribe of Benjamin was destroyed, excepting only six hundred men.

1. AFTER the death of Joshua and Eleazar, Phineas prophesied, ¹ that according to God's will they should commit the government to the tribe of Judah, and that this tribe should destroy the race of the Canaanites: for then the people were concerned to learn what was the will of God. They also took to their assistance the tribe of Simeon, but upon this condition, that when those that had been tributary to the tribe of Judah should be slain, they should do the like for the tribe of Simeon.

2. But the affairs of the Canaanites were at this time in a flourishing condition, and they expected the Israelites with a great army at the city Bezek, having put the government into the hands of Adonibezek, which name denotes the *Lord of Bezek*, for Adoni in the Hebrew tongue, is called *Lord*. Now they hoped to have been too hard for the Israelites, because Joshua was dead: But when the Israelites had joined battle with them, I mean the two tribes before mentioned, they fought gloriously, and slew above ten thousand of them, and put the rest to flight; and in the pursuit they took Adonibezek,

¹ By *Prophesying*, when spoken of a high priest, Josephus both here, and frequently elsewhere, means no more than consulting God by Urim, which the reader is still to bear in mind upon all occasions.

who, when his fingers and toes were cut off by them, said, "Nay, indeed I was not always to lie concealed from God, as I find by what I now endure, while I have not been ashamed to do the same to ¹ seventy-two kings." So they carried him alive as far as Jerusalem; and when he was dead they buried him in the earth, and went on still in taking the cities: and when they had taken the greatest part of them, they besieged Jerusalem: and when they had taken the lower city, which was not under a considerable time, they slew all the inhabitants; but the upper city was not to be taken without great difficulty, through the strength of its walls, and the nature of the place.

3. For which reason they removed their camp to Hebron; and when they had taken it they slew all the inhabitants. There were till then left the race of giants, who had bodies so large, and countenances so entirely different from other men, that they were surprising to the sight, and terrible to the hearing. The bones of these men are still shown to this very day, unlike to any credible relations of other men. Now they gave this city to the Levites as an extraordinary reward, with the suburbs of two thousand cities; but the land thereto belonging they gave as a free gift to Caleb, according to the injunctions of Moses: This Caleb was one of the spies which Moses sent into the land of Canaan. They also gave land for habitation to the posterity of Jethro, the Midianite, who was the father-in-law to Moses, for they

¹ This great number of seventy-two *reguli*, or *small kings*, over whom Adonibezek had tyrannised, and for which he was punished according to the *lex talionis*, as well as the thirty-one kings of Canaan subdued by Joshua, and named in one chapter, Josh. xii. and thirty-two kings, or royal auxiliaries to Benhadad, king of Syria, 1 Kings xx. 1, Antiq. B. VIII. ch. xiv. sect. 1, intimate to us what was the ancient form of government among several nations before the monarchies began, viz. that every city or large town, with its neighbouring villages, was a distinct government by itself.

had left their own country, and followed them, and accompanied them in the wilderness.

4. Now the tribes of Judah and Simeon took the cities which were in the mountainous part of Canaan, as also Askelon and Ashdod, of those that lay near the sea; but Gaza and Ekron escaped them, for they, lying in a flat country, and having a great number of chariots, they sorely galled those that attacked them: So these tribes, when they were grown very rich by this war, retired to their own cities, and laid aside their weapons of war.

5. But the Benjamites, to whom belonged Jerusalem, permitted its inhabitants to pay tribute: So they all left off, the one to kill, and the other to expose themselves to danger, and had time to cultivate the ground: The rest of the tribes imitated that of Benjamin, and did the same; and contenting themselves with the tributes that were paid them, permitted the Canaanites to live in peace.

6. However, the tribe of Ephraim when they besieged Bethel, made no advance, nor performed any thing worthy of the time they spent, and of the pains they took about that siege, yet did they persist in it, still sitting down before the city, though they endured great trouble thereby: But after some time, they caught one of the citizens that came to them to get necessaries, and they gave him some assurances that if he would deliver up the city to them, they would preserve him and his kindred: so he swore, that upon those terms he would put the city into their hands. Accordingly, he that thus betrayed the city was preserved, with his family; and the Israelites slew all the inhabitants, and retained the city for themselves.

7. After this, the Israelites grew effeminate as to fighting any more against their enemies, but ap-

plied themselves to the cultivation of the land, which producing them great plenty and riches, they neglected the regular disposition of their settlement, and indulged themselves in luxury and pleasures, nor were they any longer careful to hear the laws that belonged to their political government: Whereupon God was provoked to anger, and put them in mind, first, how contrary to his directions they had spared the Canaanites, and after that, how these Canaanites, as opportunity served, used them very barbarously. But the Israelites, though they were in heaviness at these admonitions from God, yet were they still very unwilling to go to war, and since they got large tributes from the Canaanites, and were indisposed for taking pains by their luxury, they suffered their aristocracy to be corrupted also, and did not ordain themselves a senate, nor any other such magistrates as their laws had formerly required, but they were very much given to cultivating their fields, in order to get wealth; which great indolence of theirs brought a terrible sedition upon them, and they proceeded so far as to fight one against another, from the following occasion:

8. There ¹ was a Levite, a man of a vulgar family, that belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and dwelt therein; this man married a wife from Bethlehem, which is a place belonging to the tribe of Judah. Now he was very fond of his wife, and overcome with her beauty; but he was unhappy in this, that he did not meet with the like return of affection from her, for she was averse to him, which did more in-

¹ Josephus' early date of this history before the beginning of the judges, or when there was no king in Israel, Judges xix. 1, is strongly confirmed by the large number of Benjamites, both in the days of Asa and Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xiv. 8, and xvi. 17, who were yet here reduced to 600 men: nor can those numbers be at all supposed genuine, if they were reduced so late as the end of the judges, where our other copies place this reduction.

flame his passion for her, so that they quarrelled one with another perpetually; and at last the woman was so disgusted at these quarrels, that she left her husband, and went to her parents in the fourth month. The husband being very uneasy at this her departure, and that out of his fondness for her; came to his father and mother-in-law, and made up their quarrels, and was reconciled to her, and lived with them there four days, as being kindly treated by her parents. On the fifth day he resolved to go home, and went away in the evening: for his wife's parents were loath to part with their daughter, and delayed the time till the day was gone. Now they had one servant that followed them, and an ass on which the woman rode; and when they were near Jerusalem, having gone already thirty furlongs, the servant advised them to take up their lodgings somewhere, lest some misfortune should befall them if they travelled in the night, especially since they were not far off enemies, that season often giving reason for suspicion of dangers from even such as are friends; but the husband was not pleased with this advice, nor was he willing to take up his lodging among strangers, for the City belonged to the Canaanites, but desired rather to go twenty furlongs farther, and so to take their lodging in some Israelite city. Accordingly he obtained his purpose, and came to Gibeah, a city of the tribe of Benjamin, when it was just dark; and while no one that lived in the market-place invited him to lodge with him, there came an old man out of the field, one that was indeed of the tribe of Ephraim, but resided in Gibeah, and met him, and asked him, Who he was? and for what reason he came thither so late? and why he was looking out for provisions for supper when it was dark? To which he replied, That he was a Levite, and was bringing his wife from her parents, and was

going home, but he told him his habitation was in the tribe of Ephraim: So the old man, as well because of their kindred, as because they lived in the same tribe, and also because they had thus accidentally met together, took him in to lodge with him. Now certain young men, of the inhabitants of Gibeah, having seen the woman in the market-place, and admiring her beauty, when they understood that she lodged with the old man, came to the doors, as contemning the weakness and fewness of the old man's family; and when the old man desired them to go away, and not to offer any violence or abuse there, they desired him to yield them up the strange woman, and then he should have no harm done to him: And when the old man alleged, that the Levite was of his kindred, and that they would be guilty of horrid wickedness if they suffered themselves to be overcome by their pleasures, and so offend against their laws, they despised his righteous admonition and laughed him to scorn. They also threatened to kill him if he became an obstacle to their inclinations; whereupon when he found himself in great distress, and yet was not willing to overlook his guests, and see them abused, he produced his own daughter to them; and told them, that it was a smaller breach of the law to satisfy their lust upon her, than to abuse his guests, supposing that he himself should by this means prevent any injury to be done to those guests. When they no way abated of their earnestness for the strange woman, but insisted absolutely on their desires to have her, he entreated them not to perpetrate any such act of injustice; but they proceeded to take her away by force, and indulging still more the violence of their inclinations, they took the woman away to their house, and when they had satisfied their lust upon her the whole night, they let her go about day-break. So she came to the place where she had been entertained,

under great affliction at what had happened, and was very sorrowful upon occasion of what she had suffered, and durst not look her husband in the face for shame, for she concluded that he would never forgive her for what she had done, so she fell down and gave up the ghost; but her husband supposed that his wife was only fast asleep, and thinking nothing of a more melancholy nature had happened, endeavoured to raise her up, resolving to speak comfortably to her, since she did not voluntarily expose herself to these men's lust, but was forced away to their house; but as soon as he perceived she was dead, he acted as prudently as the greatness of his misfortunes would admit, and laid his dead wife upon the beast, and carried her home; and cutting her limb by limb into twelve pieces, he sent them to every tribe, and gave it in charge to those that carried them, to inform the tribes of those that were the causes of his wife's death, and of the violence they had offered to her.

9. Upon this the people were greatly disturbed at what they saw, and at what they heard, as never having had the experience of such a thing before; so they gathered themselves to Shiloh, out of a prodigious and a just anger, and assembling in a great congregation before the tabernacle they immediately resolved to take arms, and to treat the inhabitants of Gibeah as enemies; but the senate restrained them from doing so, and persuaded them that they ought not so hastily to make war upon people of the same nation with them, before they discoursed them by words concerning the accusation laid against them, it being part of their law, that they should not bring an army against foreigners themselves when they appear to have been injurious, without sending an embassy first, and trying thereby whether they will repent or not; and accordingly they exhorted them to do what they ought

to do in obedience to their laws, that is, to send to the inhabitants of Gibeah, to know whether they would deliver up the offenders to them, and if they deliver them up, to rest satisfied with the punishment of those offenders; but if they despised the message that was sent them, to punish them, by taking up arms against them. Accordingly they sent to the inhabitants of Gibeah, and accused the young men of the crimes committed in the affair of the Levite's wife, and required of them those that had done what was contrary to the law, that they might be punished, as having justly deserved to die for what they had done; but the inhabitants of Gibeah would not deliver up the young men, and thought it too reproachful to them, out of fear of war, to submit to other men's demands upon them, vaunting themselves to be no way inferior to any in war, neither in their number, nor in courage. The rest of their tribe were also making great preparation for war, for they were so insolently mad, as also to resolve to repel force by force.

10. When it was related to the Israelites what the inhabitants of Gibeah had resolved upon, they took their oath that no one of them would give his daughter in marriage to a Benjamite, but make war with greater fury against them than we have learned our forefathers made war against the Canaanites, and sent out presently an army of four hundred thousand against them, while the Benjamites' army was twenty-five thousand and six hundred; five hundred of which were excellent at slinging stones with their left hands, inso-much that when the battle was joined at Gibeah the Benjamites beat the Israelites, and of them there fell two thousand men; and probably more had been destroyed had not the night come on and prevented it, and broken off the fight; so the Benjamites returned to the city with joy, and the Israelites returned to

their camp in a great fright at what had happened. On the next day, when they fought again, the Benjamites beat them, and eighteen thousand of the Israelites were slain; and the rest deserted their camp out of fear of a greater slaughter. So they came to ¹ Bethel, a city that was near their camp, and fasted on the next day: and besought God by Phineas, the high priest, that his wrath against them might cease, and that he would be satisfied with these two defeats, and give them the victory, and power over their enemies. Accordingly God promised them so to do by the prophesying of Phineas.

11. When therefore they had divided the army into two parts, they laid the one half of them in ambush about the city Gibeah by night, while the other half attacked the Benjamites, and retiring upon the assault, the Benjamites pursued them, while the Hebrews retired by slow degrees, as very desirous to draw them entirely from the city, and the others followed them as they retired, till both the old men and young men that were left in the city as too weak to fight, came running out together with them, as willing to bring their enemies under. However, when they were a great way from the city, the Hebrews ran away no longer, but turned back to fight them, and lifted up the signal they had agreed on to those that lay in ambush, who rose up, and with a great noise fell upon the enemy. Now, as soon as ever they perceived themselves to be deceived, they knew not what to do, and when they were driven into a certain hollow place which was in a valley, they were shot at by those that encompassed them, till they

¹ Josephus seems here to have made a small mistake, when he took the Hebrew word *Beth-El*, which denotes *the house of God*, or the tabernacle, Judg. xx. 18, for the proper name of a place *Bethel*, it no way appearing that the tabernacle was ever at Bethel; only so far it is true, that Shiloh, the place of the tabernacle in the days of the Judges, was not far from Bethel.

were all destroyed, excepting six hundred which formed themselves into a close body of men, and forced their passage through the midst of their enemies, and fled to the neighbouring mountains, and seizing upon them, remained there; but the rest of them, being about twenty-five thousand, were slain. Then did the Israelites burn Gibeah, and slew the women, and the males that were under age, and did the same also to the other cities of the Benjamites. And indeed they were enraged to that degree, that they sent twelve thousand men out of the army, and gave them orders to destroy Jabesh-Gilead, because it did not join with them in fighting against the Benjamites. Accordingly those that were sent slew the men of war, with their children and wives, excepting four hundred virgins. To such a degree had they proceeded in their anger, because they not only had the suffering of the Levite's wife to avenge, but the slaughter of their own soldiers.

12. However, they afterwards were sorry for the calamity they had brought upon the Benjamites, and appointed a fast on that account, although they supposed these men had suffered justly for their offence against the laws: so they recalled by their ambassadors those six hundred which had escaped. These had seated themselves on a certain rock called *Rimmon*, which was in the wilderness; so the ambassadors lamented not the disaster that had befallen the Benjamites, but themselves also, by this destruction of their kindred, and persuaded them to take it patiently, and to come and unite with them, and not, so far as in them lay, to give their suffrage to the utter destruction of the tribe of Benjamin; and said to them, "We give you leave to take the whole land of Benjamin to yourselves, and as much prey as you are able to carry away with you." So these men with sorrow confessed, that what had been done was according to the decree of

God, and had happened for their own wickedness, and assented to those that invited them, and came down to their own tribe. The Israelites also gave them the four hundred virgins of Jabesh-Gilead for wives; but as to the remaining two hundred, they deliberated about it how they might compass wives enough for them, and that they might have children by them; and whereas they had before the war began, taken an oath, that no one would give his daughter to wife to a Benjamite, some advised them to have no regard to what they had sworn, because the oath had not been taken advisedly and judiciously, but in a passion, and thought that they should do nothing against God, if they were able to save a whole tribe which was in danger of perishing, and that perjury was then a sad and dangerous thing, not when it is done out of necessity, but when it is done with a wicked intention. But when the senate were affrighted at the very name of perjury, a certain person told them, that he could show them a way whereby they might procure the Benjamites wives enough, and yet keep their oath. They asked him what his proposal was? He said, "that three times in a year when we meet in Shiloh, our wives and our daughters accompany us, let then the Benjamites be allowed to steal away, and marry such women as they can catch, while we will neither incite them nor forbid them; and when their parents take it ill, and desire us to inflict punishment upon them, we will tell them, that they were themselves the cause of what had happened, by neglecting to guard their daughters, and that they ought not to be over-angry at the Benjamites, since that anger was permitted to rise too high already." So the Israelites were persuaded to follow this advice, and decreed, that the Benjamites should be allowed thus to steal themselves wives. So when the festival was coming on, these two

hundred Benjamites, lay in ambush before the city, by two and three together, and waited for the coming of the virgins, in the vineyards and other places where they could lie concealed. Accordingly the virgins came along playing, and suspected nothing of what was coming upon them, and walked after an unguarded manner, so those that lay scattered in the road rose up and caught hold of them: By this means these Benjamites got them wives and fell to agriculture, and took good care to recover their former happy state. And thus was this tribe of the Benjamites, after they had been in danger of entirely perishing, saved in the manner forementioned, by the wisdom of the Israelites; and accordingly it presently flourished, and soon increased to be a multitude, and came to enjoy all other degrees of happiness. And such was the conclusion of this war.

CHAPTER III.

How the Israelites after this misfortune grew wicked, and served the Assyrians, and how God delivered them by Othniel, who ruled over them forty years.

1. Now it happened that the tribe of Dan suffered in like manner with the tribe of Benjamin; and it came to do so on the occasion following: When the Israelites had already left off the exercise of their arms for war, and were intent upon their husbandry, the Canaanites despised them, and brought together an army, not because they expected to suffer by them, but because they had a mind to have a sure prospect of treating the Hebrews ill when they pleased, and might thereby, for the time to come, dwell in their own cities the more securely; they prepared therefore their chariots, and

gathered their soldiery together, their cities also combined together and drew over to them Askelon and Ekron, which were within the tribe of Judah, and many more of those that lay in the plain. They also forced the Danites to fly into the mountainous country, and left them not the least portion of the plain country to set their foot on. Since then these Danites were not able to fight them, and had not land enough to sustain them, they sent five of their men into the mid-land country to seek for a land to which they might remove their habitation: So these men went so far as the neighbourhood of mount Libanus, and the fountains of the lesser Jordan; at the great plain of Sidon, a day's journey from the city; and when they had taken a view of the land, and found it to be good and exceeding fruitful, they acquainted their tribe with it, whereupon they made an expedition with the army, and built there the city Dan, of the same name with the son of Jacob, and of the same name with their own tribe.

2. The Israelites grew so indolent, and unready of taking pains, that misfortunes came heavier upon them, which also proceeded in part from their contempt of the divine worship; for when they had once fallen off from the regularity of their political government, they indulged themselves farther in living according to their own pleasure, and according to their own will, till they were full of the evil doings that were common among the Canaanites. God therefore was angry with them, and they lost that happy state which they had obtained by innumerable labours, by their luxury; for when Chushan, king of the Assyrians, had made war against them, they lost many of their soldiers in the battle, and when they were besieged, they were taken by force: nay, there were some who, out of fear, voluntarily submitted to him, and though the tribute laid upon them was more than they could bear, yet did they pay it, and

underwent all sort of oppression for eight years; after which time they were freed from them in the following manner.

3. There was one whose name was Othniel, the son of Kenez, of the tribe of Judah, an active man, and of great courage. He had an admonition from God not to overlook the Israelites in such a distress as they were now in, but to endeavour boldly to gain their liberty; so when he had procured some to assist him in this dangerous undertaking, (and few they were, who, either out of shame at their present circumstances, or out of a desire of changing them, could be prevailed on to assist him,) he first of all destroyed that garrison which Chushan had set over them; but when it was perceived that he had not failed in his first attempt, more of the people came to his assistance; so they joined battle with the Assyrians, and drove them entirely before them, and compelled them to pass over Euphrates. Hereupon Othniel, who had given such proofs of his valour, received from the multitude authority to judge the people; and when he had ruled over them forty years, he died.

CHAPTER IV.

How our people served the Moabites eighteen years, and were then delivered from slavery by one Ehud, who retained the dominion eighty years.

1. WHEN Othniel was dead, the affairs of the Israelites fell again into disorder, and while they neither paid to God the honour due to him, nor were obedient to the laws, their afflictions increased, till Eglon, king of the Moabites, did so greatly despise them on account of the disorders of their political

government, that he made war upon them and overcame them in several battles, and made the most courageous to submit, and entirely subdued their army, and ordered them to pay him tribute. And when he had built him a royal palace at ¹Jericho, he omitted no method whereby he might distress them; and indeed he reduced them to poverty for eighteen years: But when God had once taken pity of the Israelites, on account of their afflictions, and was moved to compassion by their supplications put up to him, he freed them from the hard usage they had met with under the Moabites. This liberty he procured for them in the following manner.

2. There was a young man of the tribe of Benjamin, whose name was Ehud, the son of Gera, a man of very great courage in bold undertakings, and of a very strong body fit for hard labour, but best skilled in using his left hand, in which was his whole strength; and he also dwelt at Jericho. Now this man became familiar with Eglon, and that by means of presents, with which he obtained his favour, and insinuated himself into his good opinion, whereby he was also beloved of those that were about the king. Now, when on a time he was bringing presents to the king, and had two servants with him, he put a dagger on his right thigh secretly, and went in to him: it was then summer time, and the middle of the day, when the guards were not strictly on their watch, both because of the heat, and because they were gone to dinner. So the young

¹ It appears by the sacred history, Judg. i. 16, iii. 13, that Eglon's pavilion or palace, was at the city of palm trees, as the place where Jericho had stood is called after its destruction by Joshua, that is, at or near the demolished city. Accordingly, Josephus says it was at Jericho, or rather in that fine country of palm trees, upon, or near to the same spot of ground on which Jericho had formerly stood, and on which it was rebuilt by Hiel, 1 Kings xvi. 34. Our other copies that avoid its proper name Jericho, and call it the *city of palm trees* only, speak here more accurately than Josephus.

man when he had offered his presents to the king, who then resided in a small parlour that stood conveniently to avoid the heat, he fell into discourse with him, for they were now alone, the king having bid his servants that attended him to go their ways because he had a mind to talk with Ehud. He was now sitting on his throne; and fear seized upon Ehud lest he should miss his stroke and not give him a deadly wound, so he raised himself up, and said he had a dream to impart to him by the command of God; upon which the king leaped out of his throne for joy of the dream, so Ehud smote him to the heart, and leaving his dagger in his body, he went out and shut the door after him. Now the king's servants were very still, as supposing that the king had composed himself to sleep.

3. Hereupon Ehud informed the people of Jericho privately of what he had done, and exhorted them to recover their liberty; who heard him gladly, and went to their arms, and sent messengers over the country, that should sound trumpets of rams' horns, for it was our custom to call the people together by them. Now the attendants of Eglon were ignorant of what misfortune had befallen him for a great while; but towards the evening, fearing some uncommon accident had happened, they entered into his parlour and when they found him dead they were in great disorder, and knew not what to do; and before the guards could be got together, the multitude of the Israelites came upon them, so that some of them were slain immediately, and some were put to flight, and ran away toward the country of Moab, in order to save themselves. Their number was above ten thousand. The Israelites seized upon the ford of Jordan, and pursued them, and slew them, and many of them they killed at the ford, nor did one of them escape out of their hands, and by this means it was that the Hebrews freed themselves from

slavery, under the Moabites. Ehud also was on this account dignified with the government over all the multitude, and died after he had held the government ¹ eighty years. He was a man worthy of commendation, even besides what he deserved for the fore-mentioned act of his. After him Shamgar, the son of Anath, was elected for their governor, but died in the first year of his government.

CHAPTER V.

How the Canaanites brought the Israelites under slavery for twenty years; after which they were delivered by Barak and Deborah, who ruled over them forty years.

1. AND now it was that the Israelites, taking no warning by their former misfortunes to amend their manners, and neither worshipping God nor submitting to the laws, were brought under slavery by Jabin, the king of the Canaanites, and that before they had a short breathing time after the slavery under the Moabites; for this Jabin came out of Hazor, a city that was situate over the lake Semechonitis, and had in pay three hundred thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, with no fewer than three thousand chariots. Sisera was the commander of all his army, and was the principal person in the king's favour. He so

¹ These 80 years for the government of Ehud are necessary to Josephus' usual large numbers between the Exodus and the building of the temple, of 592 or 612 years, but not to the smallest number of 480 years, 1 Kings vi. 1, which lesser number Josephus seems sometimes to have followed. And since in the beginning of the next chapter it is said by Josephus, that here was hardly a breathing time for the Israelites before Jabin came and enslaved them, it is highly probable, that some of the copies in his time had here only 8 years instead of 80; as had that of Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autoyle*, L. III. and this most probably from his copy of Josephus.

sorely beat the Israelites when they fought with him, that he ordered them to pay tribute.

2. So they continued to undergo that hardship for twenty years, as not good enough of themselves to grow wise by their misfortunes. God was willing also hereby the more to subdue their obstinacy and ingratitude towards himself: So when at length they were become penitent, and were so wise as to learn that their calamities arose from their contempt of the laws, they besought Deborah, a certain prophetess among them, (which name in the Hebrew tongue signifies a *Bee*,) to pray to God to take pity on them, and not to overlook them, now they were ruined by the Canaanites. So God granted them deliverance, and chose them a general, Barak, one that was of the tribe of Naphtali (now Barak, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies *lightning*.)

3. So Deborah sent for Barak, and bid him choose him out ten thousand young men, to go against the enemy, because God had said, that that number was sufficient, and promised them victory. But when Barak said, that he would not be the general unless she would also go as a general with him, she had indignation at what he said, and replied, "Thou, O Barak, deliverest up meanly that authority which God hath given thee, into the hand of a woman, and I do not reject it." So they collected ten thousand men, and pitched their camp at mount Tabor, where at the king's command, Sisera met them, and pitched his camp not far from the enemy; whereupon the Israelites and Barak himself, were so affrighted at the multitude of those enemies, that they were resolved to march off, had not Deborah retained them, and commanded them to fight the enemy that very day, for that they should conquer them, and God would be their assistance.

4. So the battle began; and when they were come

to a close fight, there came down from heaven a great storm, with a vast quantity of rain and hail, and the wind blew the rain in the face of the Canaanites, and so darkened their eyes, that their arrows and slings were of no advantage to them; nor would the coldness of the air permit the soldiers to make use of their swords, while this storm did not so much incommode the Israelites, because it came on their backs. They also took such courage, upon the apprehension that God was assisting them, that they fell upon the very midst of their enemies, and slew a great number of them, so that some of them fell by the Israelites, some fell by their own horses, which were put into disorder, and not a few were killed by their own chariots. At last Sisera, as soon as he saw himself beaten, fled away, and came to a woman whose name was *Jael*, a Kenite, who received him, when he desired to be concealed; and when he asked for somewhat to drink, she gave him sour milk, of which he drank so unmeasurably that he fell asleep; but when he was asleep, *Jael* took an iron nail, and drove it through his temples with an hammer into the floor: and when Barak came a little afterward, she showed Sisera nailed to the ground. And thus was this victory gained by a woman, as Deborah had foretold. Barak also fought with Jabin at Hazor; and when he met with him he slew him: and when the general was fallen, Barak overthrew the city to the foundation, and was commander of the Israelites for forty years.

CHAPTER VI.

How the Midianites and other nations fought against the Israelites, and beat them, and afflicted their country for seven years. How they were delivered by Gideon, who ruled over the multitude for seven years.

1. Now when Barak and Deborah were dead; whose deaths happened about the same time, afterwards the Midianites called the Amalekites and Arabians to their assistance, and made war against the Israelites, and were too hard for those that fought against them; and when they had burnt the fruits of the earth, they carried off the prey. Now when they had done this for three years, the multitude of the Israelites retired to the mountains, and forsook the plain country. They also made themselves hollows under ground, and caverns, and preserved therein whatsoever had escaped their enemies; for the Midianites made expeditions in harvest-time, but permitted them to plough the land in winter, that so when the others had taken the pains, they might have fruits for them to carry away. Indeed there ensued a famine, and a scarcity of food, upon which they betook themselves to their supplications to God, and besought him to save them.

2. Gideon also, the son of Joash, one of the principal persons of the tribe of Manasseh, brought his sheaves of corn privately, and threshed them at the wine-press, for he was too fearful of their enemies, to thresh them openly in the threshing-floor. At this time somewhat appeared to him in the shape of a

young man, and told him, "That he was an happy man and beloved of God." To which he immediately replied, "A mighty indication of God's favour to me, that I am forced to use this wine-press instead of a threshing-floor!" But the appearance exhorted him to be of good courage, and to make an attempt for the recovery of their liberty. He answered, That "it was impossible for him to recover it, because the tribe to which he belonged, was by no means numerous; and because he was but young himself, and too inconsiderable to think of such great actions." But the other promised him, that God would supply what he was defective in, and would afford the Israelites victory under his conduct.

3. Now therefore as Gideon was relating this to some young men, they believed him, and immediately there was an army of ten thousand men got ready for fighting. But God stood by Gideon in his sleep, and told him, "That mankind were too fond of themselves and were enemies to such as excelled in virtue, now that they might not pass God over, but ascribe the victory to him, and might not fancy it obtained by their own power because they were a great army, and able of themselves to fight their enemies, but might confess that it was owing to his assistance, he advised him to bring his army about noon, in the violence of the heat, to the river, and to esteem those that bent down on their knees and so drank, to be men of courage; but for all those that drank tumultuously, that he should esteem them to do it out of fear, and as in dread of their enemies." And when Gideon had done as God had suggested to him, there were found three hundred men that took water with their hands tumultuously, so God bid him take these men and attack the enemy. Accordingly they pitched their camp at the river Jordan, as ready the next day to pass over it.

4. But Gideon was in great fear, for God had told him beforehand, that he should set upon his enemies in the night-time: But God being willing to free him from his fear, bid him take one of his soldiers, and go near to the Midianites' tents, for that he should from that very place have his courage raised, and grow bold. So he obeyed, and went and took his servant Phurah with him; and as he came near to one of the tents he discovered that those that were in it were awake, and that one of them was telling to his fellow-soldier a dream of his own, and that so plainly, that Gideon could hear him. The dream was this: He thought he saw a barley cake, such an one as could hardly be eaten by men it was so vile, rolling through the camp, and overthrowing the royal tent, and the tents of all the soldiers. Now the other soldier explained this vision to mean the destruction of the army, and told them what his reason was which made him so to conjecture, viz. that the seed called *barley* was all of it allowed to be of the vilest sort of seed, and that the Israelites were known to be the vilest of all the people of Asia, agreeably to the seed of barley, and that what seemed to look big among the Israelites was this Gideon and the army that was with him: and since thou sayest thou didst see the cake overturning our tents, I am afraid lest God hath granted the victory over us to Gideon.

5. When Gideon had heard this dream, good hope and courage came upon him; and he commanded his soldiers to arm themselves, and told them of this vision of their enemies. They also took courage at what was told them, and were ready to perform what he should enjoin them: So Gideon divided his army into three parts, and brought it out about the fourth watch of the night, each part containing an hundred men: they all bare empty pitchers, and lighted lamps in

their hands, that their onset might not be discovered by their enemies. They had also each of them a ram's horn in his right hand, which he used instead of a trumpet: The enemies' camp took up a large space of ground; for it happened they had a great many camels: and as they were divided into different nations, so they were all contained in one circle. Now when the Hebrews did as they were ordered beforehand, upon their approach to their enemies, and on the signal given, sounded with their rams' horns, and brake their pitchers, and set upon their enemies with their lamps, and a great shout, and cried, "Victory to Gideon, by God's assistance," a disorder and a fright seized on the other men while they were fast asleep, for it was night-time, as God would have it; so that a few of them were slain by their enemies, but the greatest part by their own soldiers, on account of the diversity of their language, and when they were once put into disorder, they killed all that they met with, as thinking them to be enemies also. Thus there were a great slaughter made. And as the report of Gideon's victory came to the Israelites, they took their weapons and pursued their enemies, and overtook them in a certain valley, encompassed with torrents, a place which these could not get over; so they encompassed them, and slew them all, with their kings, Oreb and Zeeb. But the remaining captains let those soldiers that were left, which were about eighteen thousand, and pitched their camp a great way off the Israelites. However, Gideon did not grudge his pains, but pursued them with all his army, and joining battle with them, cut off the whole enemies' army, and took the other leaders, Zebah and Zalmuna, and made them captives. Now there were slain in this battle of the Midianites, and of their auxiliaries the Arabians, about an hundred and twenty thousand, and the Hebrews took a great prey, gold

and silver, and garments, and camels, and asses. And when Gideon was come to his own country of Ophra, he slew the kings of the Midianites.

6. However the tribe of Ephraim was so displeased at the good success of Gideon that they resolved to make war against him, accusing him because he did not tell them of his expedition against their enemies. But Gideon, as a man of temper, and that excelled in every virtue, pleaded, "That it was not the result of his own authority or reasoning, that made him attack the enemy without them; but that it was the command of God, and still the victory belonged to them as well as to those in the army." And by this method of cooling their passions, he brought more advantage to the Hebrews, than by the success he had against these enemies, for he thereby delivered them from sedition which was arising among them; yet did this tribe afterwards suffer the punishment of this their injurious treatment of Gideon, of which we will give an account in due time.

7. Hereupon Gideon would have laid down the government, but was over-persuaded to take it, which he enjoyed forty years, and distributed justice to them; as the people came to him in their differences, and what he determined was esteemed valid by all. And when he died, he was buried in his own country of Ophra.

CHAPTER VII.

That the judges who succeeded Gideon, made war with the adjoining nations for a long time.

1. Now Gideon had seventy sons that were legitimate, for he had many wives, but he had also one that

was spurious by his concubine Drumah, whose name was *Abimelech*, who, after his father's death retired to Shechem to his mother's relations, for they were of that place: And when he had got money of such of them as were eminent for many instances of injustice, he came with them to his father's house, and slew all his brethren, except Jotham; for he had the good fortune to escape and be preserved; but Abimelech made the government tyrannical, and constituted himself a lord, to do what he pleased, instead of obeying the laws, and he acted most rigidly against those that were the patrons of justice.

2. Now, when on a certain time, there was a public festival at Shechem, and all the multitude was there gathered together, Jotham his brother, whose escape we before related, went up to mount Gerizzim, which hangs over the city Shechem, and cried out so as to be heard by the multitude, who were attentive to him. He desired they would consider what he was going to say to them: So when silence was made, he said, "That when the trees had a human voice, and there was an assembly of them gathered together, they desired that the fig-tree would rule over them; but when that tree refused so to do, because it was contented to enjoy that honour which belonged peculiarly to the fruit it bare, and not that which should be derived to it from abroad, the trees did not leave off their intentions to have a ruler, so they thought proper to make the offer of that honour to the vine; but when the vine was chosen, it made use of the same words which the fig-tree had used before, and excused itself from accepting the government: and when the olive-tree had done the same, the brier, whom the trees had desired to take the kingdom, (it is a sort of wood good for firing,) it promised to take the government, and to be zealous in the exercise of it, but that then they must sit down

under its shadow, and if they should plot against it to destroy it, the principle of fire that was in it should destroy them. He told them, that what he had said was no laughing matter: for that when they had experienced many blessings from Gideon, they overlooked Abimelech, when he over-ruled all, and had joined with him in slaying his brethren: and that he was no better than a fire himself." So when he had said this, he went away, and lived privately in the mountains for three years, out of fear of Abimelech.

3. A little while after this festival, the Shechemites, who had now repented themselves of having slain the sons of Gideon, drove Abimelech away, both from their city and their tribe; whereupon he contrived how he might distress their city. Now at the season of vintage, the people were afraid to go out and gather the fruits, for fear Abimelech should do them some mischief. Now it happened that there had come to them a man of authority, one Gaal, that sojourned with them, having his armed men of his kinsmen with him; so the Shechemites desired that he would allow them a guard during their vintage, whereupon he accepted of their desires, and so the people went out, and Gaal with them at the head of his soldiery: So they gathered their fruit with safety, and when they were at supper in several companies, they then ventured to curse Abimelech openly, and the magistrates laid ambushes in places about the city, and caught many of Abimelech's followers, and destroyed them.

4. Now there was one Zebul, a magistrate of the Shechemites, that had entertained Abimelech. He sent messengers, and informed him how much Gaal had irritated the people against him, and excited him to lay ambushes before the city, for that he would persuade Gaal to go out against him, which would leave it in his power to be revenged on him, and

when that was once done, he would bring him to be reconciled to the city. So Abimelech laid ambushes, and himself lay with them. Now Gaal abode in the suburbs, taking little care of himself: and Zebul was with him. Now as Gaal saw the armed men coming on, he said to Zebul, that some armed men were coming; but the other replied, they were only shadows of huge stones; and when they were come nearer, Gaal perceived what was the reality; and said, they were not shadows, but men lying in ambush. Then said Zebul, didst not thou reproach Abimelech for cowardice? why dost thou not then show how very courageous thou art thyself, and go and fight him? So Gaal, being in disorder, joined battle with Abimelech, and some of his men fell; whereupon he fled into the city, and took his men with him. But Zebul managed his matters so in the city, that he procured them to expel Gaal out of the city, and this by accusing him of cowardice in this action with the soldiers of Abimelech. But Abimelech, when he had learned that the Shechemites were again coming out to gather their grapes, placed ambushes before the city, and when they were coming out, the third part of his army took possession of the gates, to hinder the citizens from returning in again, while the rest pursued those that were scattered abroad, and so there was slaughter every where; and when he had overthrown the city to the very foundations, for it was not able to bear a siege, and had sown its ruins with salt, he proceeded on with his army, till all the Shechemites were slain. As for those that were scattered about the country and so escaped the danger, they were gathered together unto a certain strong rock, and settled themselves upon it, and prepared to build a wall about it; and when Abimelech knew their intentions, he prevented them, and came upon them with his forces, and laid faggots

of dry wood round the place, he himself bringing some of them, and by his example encouraging the soldiers to do the same. And when the rock was encompassed round about with these faggots, they set them on fire, and threw in whatsoever by nature caught fire the most easily; so a mighty flame was raised, and nobody could fly away from the rock, but every man perished, with their wives and children, in all about fifteen hundred men, and the rest were a great number also. And such was the calamity which fell upon the Shechemites; and men's grief on their account had been greater than it was, had they not brought so much mischief on a person who had so well deserved of them, and had they not themselves esteemed this as a punishment for the same.

5. Now Abimelech, when he had affrighted the Israelites, with the miseries he had brought upon the Shechemites, seemed openly to affect greater authority than he now had, and appeared to set no bounds to his violence, unless it were with the destruction of all. Accordingly he marched to Thebez, and took the city on the sudden; and there being a great tower therein, whereunto the whole multitude fled, he made preparation to besiege it. Now as he was rushing with violence near the gates, a woman threw a piece of mill-stone upon his head, upon which Abimelech fell down; and desired his armour bearer to kill him, lest his death should be thought to be the work of a woman, who did what he was to do. So he underwent his death as a punishment for the wickedness he had perpetrated against his brethren, and his insolent barbarity to the Shechemites. Now the calamity that happened to those Shechemites, was according to the prediction of Jotham. However the army that was with Abimelech, upon his fall, was scattered abroad, and went to their own homes.

6. Now it was that ¹ Jair the Gileadite, of the tribe of Manasseh, took the government. He was a man happy in other respects also, but particularly in his children, who were of a good character. They were thirty in number, and very skilful in riding on horses, and were intrusted with the government of the cities of Gilead. He kept the government twenty-two years, and died an old man, and he was buried in Camon, a city of Gilead.

7. And now all the affairs of the Hebrews were managed uncertainly, and tended to disorder, and to the contempt of God, and of the laws. So the Ammonites and Philistines had them in contempt, and laid waste the country with a great army; and when they had taken all Perea, they were so insolent as to attempt to gain the possession of all the rest: But the Hebrews, being now amended by the calamities they had undergone, betook themselves to supplications to God; and brought sacrifices to him, beseeching him not to be too severe upon them, but to be moved by their prayers to leave off his anger against them. So God became more merciful to them, and was ready to assist them.

8. When the Ammonites had made an expedition into the land of Gilead, the inhabitants of the country met them at a certain mountain, but wanted a commander. Now there was one whose name was Jephtha, who, both on account of his father's virtue, and on account of that army which he maintained at his own expenses, was a potent man: the Israelites therefore sent to him, and entreated him to come to their assist-

¹ Our present copies of Josephus all omit Tola among the judges, though the other copies have him next after Abimelech, and allot 23 years to his administration, Judges x. 1, 2, yet do all Josephus' commentators conclude, that in Josephus' sum of the years of the judges his 23 years are included; hence we are to confess, that somewhat has been here lost out of his copies.

ance, and promised him the dominion over them all his life-time. But he did not admit of their entreaty; and accused them, that they did not come to his assistance when he was unjustly treated, and this in an open manner by his brethren; for they cast him off, as not having the same mother with the rest, but born of a strange mother, that was introduced among them by his father's fondness, and this they did out of a contempt of his inability [to vindicate himself.] So he dwelt in the country of Gilead, as it is called, and received all that came to him, let them come from what place soever, and paid them wages. However, when they pressed him to accept the dominion, and sware that they would grant him the government over them all his life, he led them to the war.

9. And when Jephtha had taken immediate care of their affairs, he placed his army at the city of Mispheh, and sent a message to the Ammonite [king,] complaining of his unjust possession of their land. But that king sent a contrary message; and complained of the Exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt, and desired him to go out of the land of the Amorites, and yield it up to him, as at first his paternal inheritance. But Jephtha returned this answer, "That he did not justly complain of his ancestors about the land of the Amorites, and ought rather to thank them that they left the land of the Ammonites to them since Moses could have taken it also; and that neither would he recede from that land of their own, which God had obtained for them, and they had now inhabited [above] three hundred years, but would fight with them about it."

10. And when he had given them this answer, he sent the ambassadors away. And when he had prayed for victory, and had ¹ vowed to perform sacred offices;

¹ Josephus justly condemns Jephtha, as do the Apostolical Constitutions, B. VII. ch. xxxvii. for his rash vow, whether it were for sacrificing

and if he came home in safety, to offer in sacrifice what living creature soever should first meet him, he joined battle with the enemy, and gained a great victory, and in his pursuit slew the enemies all along as far as the city Minnith. He then passed over to the land of the Ammonites, and overthrew many of their cities, and took their prey, and freed his own people from that slavery which they had undergone for eighteen years. But as he came back he fell into a calamity no way correspondent to the great actions he had done; for it was his daughter that came to meet him; she was also an only child and a virgin: upon this Jephtha heavily lamented the greatness of his affliction, and blamed his daughter for being so forward in meeting him, for he had vowed to sacrifice her to God. However, this action that was to befall her was not ungrateful to her, since she should die upon occasion of her father's victory, and the liberty of her fellow-citizens: She only desired her father to give her leave for two months, to bewail her youth with her fellow-citizens; and then she agreed, that at the fore-mentioned time, he might do with her according to his vow. Accordingly, when that time was over, he sacrificed his daughter as a burnt-offering; offering such an oblation as was neither conformable to the law, nor acceptable to God, not weighing with himself what opinion the hearers would have of such a practice.

11. Now the tribe of Ephraim fought against him, because he did not take them along with him in his expedition against the Ammonites, but because he alone had the prey, and the glory of what was done

his daughter, as Josephus thought, or for dedicating her, who was his only child, to perpetual virginity, at the tabernacle or elsewhere, which I rather suppose. If he had vowed her for a sacrifice she ought to have been redeemed, Lev. xxvii. 1, 8, but of the sense of ver. 20, 29, as relating not to things vowed to God, but devoted to destruction, see the note on Antiq. B. V. ch. i. sect. 8.

to himself. As to which he said, first that they were not ignorant how his country had fought against him, and that when they were invited, they did not come to his assistance, whereas they ought to have come quickly, even before they were invited. And in the next place, that they were going to act unjustly; for while they had not courage enough to fight their enemies, they came hastily against their own kindred: and he threatened them, that with God's assistance, he would inflict a punishment upon them, unless they would grow wiser. But when he could not persuade them, he fought with them with those forces which he sent for out of Gilead, and he made a great slaughter among them; and when they were beaten, he pursued them, and seized on the passages of Jordan by a part of his army which he had sent before, and slew about forty-two thousand of them.

12. So when Jephtha had ruled six years, he died, and was buried in his own country Sebee, which is a place in the land of Gilead.

13. Now, when Jephtha was dead, Ibzan took the government, being of the tribe of Judah, and of the city Bethlehem. He had sixty children, thirty of them sons, and the rest daughters; all which he left alive behind him, giving the daughters in marriage to husbands, and taking wives for his sons. He did nothing in the seven years of his administration that was worth recording, or deserved a memorial. So he died an old man, and was buried in his own country.

14. When Ibzan was dead after this manner, neither did Helon, who succeeded him in the government, and kept it ten years, do any thing remarkable; he was of the tribe of Zebulon.

15. Abdon, also, the son of Hillel, of the tribe of Ephraim, and born at the city Pyrathon, was ordained their supreme governor after Helon. He is only re-

corded to have been happy in his children; for the public affairs were then so peaceable, and in such security, that neither did he perform any glorious action. He had forty sons, and by them left thirty grand-children; and he marched in state with these seventy, who were all very skilful in riding horses, and he left them all alive after him. He died an old man; and obtained a magnificent burial in Pyrathon.

CHAPTER VIII.

Concerning the fortitude of Sampson, and what mischiefs he brought upon the Philistines.

1. AFTER Abdon was dead, the Philistines overcame the Israelites, and received tribute of them for forty years; from which distress they were delivered after this manner.

2. There was one Manoah, a person of such great virtue, that he had few men his equals, and without dispute the principal person of his country. He had a wife celebrated for her beauty, and excelling her contemporaries. He had no children; and being uneasy at his want of posterity, he entreated God to give them seed of their own bodies to succeed them; and with that intent he came constantly into the suburbs, together with his wife, which suburbs were in the great plain. Now, he was fond of his wife to the degree of madness, and on that account was unmeasurably jealous of her. Now, when his wife was once alone, an apparition was seen by her; it was an angel of God, and resembled a young man beautiful and tall, and brought her the good news, that she should have a son, born by God's providence, that should be a goodly child, of great strength, by whom, when he was grown up to man's

estate, the Philistines should be afflicted. He exhorted her also not to poll his hair, and that he should avoid all other kinds of drink, (for so had God commanded,) and be entirely contented with water. So the angel, when he had delivered that message, went his way, his coming having been by the will of God.

3. Now the wife informed her husband when he came home, of what the angel had said, who showed so great an admiration of the beauty and tallness of the young man that had appeared to her, that her husband was astonished, and out of himself for jealousy, and such suspicions as are excited by that passion: But she was desirous of having her husband's unreasonable sorrow taken away; accordingly she entreated God to send the angel again, that he might be seen by her husband. So the angel came again by the favour of God, while they were in the suburbs, and appeared to her when she was alone, without her husband. She desired the angel to stay so long till she might bring her husband; and that request being granted, she goes to call Manoah. When he saw the angel he was not yet free from suspicion, and he desired him to inform him of all that he had told his wife: But when he said, it was sufficient that she alone knew what he had said, he then requested of him to tell him who he was, that when the child was born they might return him thanks, and give him a present. He replied, that he did not want any present, for that he did not bring them the good news of the birth of a son out of the want of anything. And when Manoah had entreated him to stay, and partake of his hospitality, he did not give his consent. However, he was persuaded, at the earnest request of Manoah, to stay so long as while he brought him one mark of his hospitality: So he slew a kid of the goats, and bid his wife boil it. When all was ready the angel enjoined

him to set the loaves and the flesh, but without the vessels, upon the rock; which, when they had done, he touched the flesh with the rod which he had in his hand, which, upon the breaking out of a flame, was consumed together with the loaves. And the angel ascended openly, in their sight, up to heaven, by means of the smoke, as by a vehicle. Now Manoah was afraid that some danger would come to them from this sight of God, but his wife bid him be of good courage; for that God appeared to them for their benefit.

4. So the woman proved with child, and was careful to observe the injunctions that were given her; and they called the child, when he was born, *Sampson*, which name signifies one that is *strong*. So the child grew apace, and it appeared evidently that he would be a ¹ prophet, both by the moderation of his diet, and the permission of his hair to grow.

5. Now when he once came with his parents to Timnath, a city of the Philistines, when there was a great festival, he fell in love with a maid of that country, and he desired of his parents that they would procure him the damsel for his wife: But they refused so to do, because she was not of the stock of Israel; yet because this marriage was of God, who intended to convert it to the benefit of the Hebrews, he over-persuaded them to procure her to be espoused to him. And as he was continually coming to her parents, he met a lion, and though he was naked, he received his onset, and strangled him with his hands, and cast the wild beast into a woody piece of ground on the inside of the road.

¹ Here by a *prophet* Josephus seems only to mean one that was born by a particular providence, lived after the manner of a Nazarite devoted to God, and was to have an extraordinary commission and strength from God for the judging and avenging his people Israel, without any proper prophetic revelations at all.

6. And when he was going another time to the damsel, he light upon a swarm of bees making their combs in the breast of that lion, and taking three honey-combs away, he gave them, together with the rest of his presents, to the damsel. Now the people of Timnath, out of a dread of the young man's strength, gave him during the time of the wedding feast (for he then feasted them all) thirty of the most stout of their youth, in pretence to be his companions, but in reality, to be a guard upon him, that he might not attempt to give them any disturbance. Now as they were drinking merrily and playing, Sampson said, as was usual at such times, "Come, if I propose you a riddle, and you can expound it in these seven days' time, I will give you every one a linen shirt and a garment, as a reward of your wisdom." So they being very ambitious to obtain the glory of wisdom, together with the gains, desired him to propose his riddle: He said, "that a great devourer produced sweet food out of itself, though itself were very disagreeable." And when they were not able, in three days' time, to find out the meaning of the riddle, they desired the damsel to discover it by the means of her husband, and tell it them, and they threatened to burn her if she did not tell it them. So when the damsel entreated Sampson to tell it her, he at first refused to do it, but when she lay hard at him, and fell into tears, and made his refusal to tell it a sign of his unkindness to her, he informed her of his slaughter of a lion, and how he found bees in his breast, and carried away three honey-combs, and brought them to her. Thus he suspecting nothing of deceit, informed her of all, and she revealed it to those that desired to know it. Then on the seventh day, whereon they were to expound the riddle proposed to them, they met together before sunsetting,

and said, "Nothing is more disagreeable than a lion to those that light on it, and nothing is sweeter than honey to those that make use of it." To which Sampson made this rejoinder, "Nothing is more deceitful than a woman, for such was the person that discovered my interpretation to you." Accordingly he gave them the presents he had promised them, making such Askelonites as met him upon the road his prey, who were themselves Philistines also. But he divorced this his wife, and the girl despised his anger, and was married to his companion, who made the former match between them.

7. At this injurious treatment Sampson was so provoked, that he resolved to punish all the Philistines, as well as her: So it being then summer time, and the fruits of the land being almost ripe enough for reaping, he caught three hundred foxes, and joining lighted torches to their tails, he sent them into the fields of the Philistines, by which means the fruits of the fields perished. Now when the Philistines knew that this was Sampson's doing, and knew also for what cause he did it, they sent their rulers to Timnath, and burnt his former wife, and her relations, who had been the occasion of their misfortunes.

8. Now when Sampson had slain many of the Philistines in the plain country, he dwelt at Etam, which is a strong rock of the tribe of Judah; for the Philistines at that time made an expedition against that tribe. But the people of Judah said, that they did not act justly with them, in inflicting punishments upon them while they paid their tribute, and this only on account of Sampson's offences. They answered, that in case they would not be blamed themselves, they must deliver up Sampson, and put him into their power. So they being desirous not to be

blamed themselves, came to the rock with three thousand armed men, and complained to Sampson of the bold insults he had made upon the Philistines, who were men able to bring calamity upon the whole nation of the Hebrews; and they told him, they were come to take him, and to deliver him up to them, and put him into their power; so they desired him to bear this willingly. Accordingly, when he had received assurance from them upon oath, that they would do him no other harm than only to deliver him into his enemies' hands, he came down from the rock, and put himself into the power of his countrymen. Then did they bind him with two cords, and lead him on, in order to deliver him to the Philistines; and when they came to a certain place, which is now called *The Jaw-bone*, on account of the great action there performed by Sampson, though of old it had no particular name at all, the Philistines, who had pitched their camp not far off, came to meet him with joy and shouting, as having done a great thing, and gained what they desired; but Sampson broke his bonds asunder, and catching up the jaw-bone of an ass that lay down at his feet, fell upon his enemies, and smiting them with his jaw-bone, slew a thousand of them, and put the rest to flight, and into great disorder.

9. Upon this slaughter, Sampson was too proud of what he had performed, and said that this did not come to pass by the assistance of God, but that his success was to be ascribed to his own courage; and vaunted himself, "that it was out of a dread of him, that some of his enemies fell, and the rest ran away upon his use of the jaw-bone." But when a great thirst came upon him, he considered that human courage is nothing, and bare his testimony that all is to be ascribed to God, and besought him

that he would not be angry at any thing he had said, nor give him up into the hands of his enemies, but afford him help under his affliction, and deliver him from the misfortune he was under. Accordingly God was moved with his entreaties, and raised him up a plentiful fountain of sweet water at a certain rock; whence it was that Sampson called the place ¹ *The Jaw-bone*, and so it is called to this day.

10. After this fight Sampson held the Philistines in contempt, and came to Gaza, and took up his lodgings in a certain inn. When the rulers of Gaza were informed of his coming thither, they seized upon the gates, and placed men in ambush about them that he might not escape without being perceived. But Sampson, who was acquainted with their contrivances against him, arose about midnight, and ran by force upon the gates, with their posts and beams, and the rest of their wooden furniture, and carried them away on his shoulders, and bare them to the mountain that is over Hebron, and there laid them down.

11. However, he at length transgressed the laws of his country, and altered his own regular way of living, and imitated the strange customs of foreigners, which thing was the beginning of his miseries; for he fell in love with a woman that was an harlot among the Philistines, her name was *Delilah*, and he lived with her. So those that administered the public affairs of the Philistines, came to her, and, with promises, induced her to get out of Sampson what was the cause of that his strength, by which he became unconquerable to his enemies. Accordingly, when they were drinking, and had the like conversation together, she pretended to admire his actions

¹ This fountain called *Lehi*, or the *Jaw-bone*, is still in being, and was known by this very name in the days of Josephus, and has been known by the same name in all those past ages. See Antiq. B. VII. ch. xii. sect. 4.

he had done, and contrived to get out of him by subtilty, by what means he so much excelled others in strength. Sampson, in order to delude Delilah, for he had not yet lost his senses, replied, that if he were bound with seven such green withs of a vine as might still be wreathed, he should be weaker than any other man. The woman said no more then, but told this to the rulers of the Philistines, and hid certain of the soldiers in ambush within the house; and when he was disordered in drink, and asleep, she bound him as fast as possible with the withs; and then upon her awakening him, she told him some of the people were upon him; but he broke the withs, and endeavoured to defend himself, as though some of the people were upon him. Now this woman, in the constant conversation Sampson had with her, pretended, that she took it very ill that he had such little confidence in her affections to him, that he would not tell her what she desired, as if she would not conceal what she knew it was for his interest to have concealed. However, he deluded her again, and told her, that if they bound him with seven cords, he should lose his strength. And when, upon doing this, she gained nothing, he told her the third time, that his hair should be woven into a web: but, when upon doing this, the truth was not yet discovered. At length Sampson, upon Delilah's prayer (for he was doomed to fall into some affliction,) was desirous to please her, and told her, That "God took care of him, and that he was born by his providence, and that thence it is that I suffer my hair to grow, God having charged me never to poll my head, and thence my strength is according to the increase and continuance of my hair." When she had learned thus much, and had deprived him of his hair, she delivered him up to his enemies, when he was not

g enough to defend himself from their attempts upon him; so they put out his eyes, and bound him, and had him led about among them.

12. But in process of time Sampson's hair grew again. And there was a public festival among the Philistines, when the rulers, and those of the most eminent character, were feasting together; (now the room wherein they were, had its roof supported by two pillars;) so they sent for Sampson, and he was brought to their feast, that they might insult him in their cups. Hereupon he, thinking it one of the greatest misfortunes, if he should not be able to revenge himself when he was thus insulted, persuaded the boy that led him by the hand, that he was weary and wanted to rest himself, and desired he would bring him near the pillars; and as soon as he came to them, he rushed with force against them, and overthrew the house, by overthrowing its pillars, with the three thousand men in it, who were all slain, and Sampson with them. And such was the end of this man, when he had ruled over the Israelites twenty years. And indeed this man deserves to be admired for his courage and strength, and magnanimity at his death, and that his wrath against his enemies went so far as to die himself with them. But as for his being ensnared by a woman, that is to be ascribed to human nature, which is too weak to resist the temptations to that sin; but we ought to bear him witness, that in all other respects he was one of extraordinary virtue. But his kindred took away his body, and buried it in Sarasat, his own country, with the rest of his family.

CHAPTER IX.

How under Eli's government of the Israelites, Booz married Ruth, from whom came Obed the grandfather of David.

1. Now after the death of Sampson, Eli the high priest was governor of the Israelites. Under him, when the country was afflicted with a famine, Elimelech of Bethlehem, which is a city of the tribe of Judah, being not able to support his family under so sore a distress, took with him Naomi his wife, and the children that were born to him by her, Chilion and Mahlon, and removed his habitation into the land of Moab; and upon the happy prosperity of his affairs there, he took for his sons wives of the Moabites, Orpah for Chilion, and Ruth for Mahlon. But in the compass of ten years, both Elimelech, and a little while after him, the sons died: and Naomi being very uneasy at these accidents, and not able to bear her lonesome condition, now those that were dearest to her were dead, on whose account it was that she was gone away from her own country, she returned to it again, for she had been informed it was now in a flourishing condition. However, her daughters-in-law were not able to think of parting with her, and when they had a mind to go out of the country with her she could not dissuade them from it; but when they insisted upon it, she wished them a more happy wedlock than they had had with her sons, and that they might have prosperity in other respects also, and seeing her own affairs were so low, she exhorted them to stay where they were,

and not to think of leaving their own country, and partaking with her of that uncertainty under which she must return. Accordingly Orpah stayed behind, but she took Ruth along with her, as not to be persuaded to stay behind her, but would take her fortune with her, whatsoever it should prove.

2. When Ruth was come with her mother-in-law to Bethlehem, Booz, who was near of kin to Elimelech, entertained her: and when Naomi was so called by her fellow-citizens, according to her true name, she said, "You might more truly call me Mara." Now Naomi signifies in the Hebrew tongue, *happiness*, and Mara, *sorrow*. It was now reaping time; and Ruth, by the leave of her mother-in-law, went out to glean, that they might get a stock of corn for their food. Now it happened that she came into Booz's field; and after some time Booz came thither, and when he saw the damsel, he inquired of his servant that was set over the reapers concerning the girl. The servant had a little before inquired about all her circumstances, and told them to his master; who kindly embraced her, both on account of her affection to her mother-in-law, and her remembrance of that son of hers, to whom she had been married, and wished that she might experience a prosperous condition: so he desired her not to glean, but to reap what she was able, and gave her leave to carry it home. He also gave it in charge to that servant who was over the reapers not to hinder her when she took it away, and bid him give her her dinner, and make her drink, when he did the like to the reapers. Now what corn Ruth received of him she kept for her mother-in-law, and came to her in the evening, and brought the ears of corn with her; and Naomi had kept for her a part of such food as her neighbours had plentifully bestowed

upon her. Ruth also told her mother-in-law what Booz had said to her; and when the other had informed her that he was near of kin to them, and perhaps was so pious a man as to make some provision for them, she went out again on the days following to gather the gleanings with Booz's maid-servants.

3. It was not many days before Booz, after the barley was winnowed, slept in his threshing-floor. When Naomi was informed of this circumstance, she contrived it so that Ruth should lie down by him, for she thought it might be for their advantage, that he should discourse with the girl. Accordingly she sent the damsel to sleep at his feet, who went as she bade her, for she did not think it consistent with her duty to contradict any command of her mother-in-law. And at first she lay concealed from Booz, as he was fast asleep; but when he awaked about midnight, and perceived a woman lying by him, he asked who she was; and when she told him her name, and desired, that he whom she owned for her lord, would excuse her; he then said no more, but in the morning before the servants began to set about their work, he awaked her, and bid her take as much barley as she was able to carry, and go to her mother-in-law, before any body there should see that she had lain down by him, because it was but prudent to avoid any reproach that might arise on that account, especially when there had been nothing done that was ill. But as to the main point she aimed at, the matter should rest here, "He that is nearer of kin than I am, shall be asked whether he wants to take thee to wife; if he says he does, thou shalt follow him; but if he refuse it, I will marry thee according to the law."

4. When she had informed her mother-in-law of

this, they were very glad of it, out of the hope they had that Booz would make provision for them. Now, about noon, Booz went down into the city, and gathered the senate together, and when he had sent for Ruth, he called for her kinsman also, and when he was come, he said, dost not thou retain the inheritance of Elimelech and his sons? He confessed that he did retain it, and that he did as he was permitted to do by the laws, because he was their nearest kinsman. Then said Booz, "Thou must not remember the laws by halves, but do every thing according to them; for the wife of Mahlon is come hither, whom thou must marry, according to the laws, in case thou wilt retain their fields." So the man yielded up both the field and the wife to Booz, who was himself of kin to those that were dead, as alleging that he had a wife already, and children also; so Booz called the senate to witness, and bid the woman to loose his shoe, and spit in his face, according to the law, and when this was done Booz married Ruth, and they had a son within a year's time. Naomi was herself a nurse to this child; and by the advice of the women called him *Obed*, as being to be brought up in order to be *subservient* to her in her old age, for Obed in the Hebrew dialect signifies a *servant*. The son of Obed was Jesse, and David was his son, who was king, and left his dominions to his sons for one and twenty generations. I was therefore obliged to relate the history of Ruth, because I had a mind to demonstrate the power of God, who without difficulty, can raise those that are of ordinary parentage to dignity and splendour, to which he advanced David, though he were born of such mean parents.

CHAPTER X.

Concerning the birth of Samuel; and how he foretold the calamity that befell the sons of Eli.

1. AND now upon the ill state of the affairs of the Hebrews, they made war again upon the Philistines. The occasion was this: Eli the high priest had two sons, Hophni and Phineas. These sons of Eli were guilty of injustice towards men and of impiety towards God, and abstained from no sort of wickedness. Some of their gifts they carried off, as belonging to the honourable employment they had, others of them they took away by violence. They also were guilty of impurity with the women that came to worship God [at the tabernacle,] obliging some to submit to their lust by force, and enticing others by bribes; nay, the whole course of their life was no better than tyranny.

Their father therefore was angry at them for such their wickedness, and expected that God would suddenly inflict his punishments upon them for what they had done. The multitude took it heinously also. And as soon as God had foretold what calamity would befall Eli's sons, which he did both to Eli himself, and to Samuel the prophet, who was yet but a child, he openly showed his sorrow for his sons' destruction.

2. I will first despatch what I have to say about the prophet Samuel, and after that will proceed to speak of the sons of Eli, and the miseries they brought on the whole people of the Hebrews. Elcanah, a Levite, one of a middle condition among his fellow-citizens, and one that dwelt at Ramathaim,

a city of the tribe of Ephraim, married two wives, Hannah and Peninnah. He had children by the latter, but he loved the other best although she were barren. Now Elcanah came with his wives to the city Shiloh to sacrifice, for there it was that the tabernacle of God was fixed, as we have formerly said. Now when, after he had sacrificed, he distributed at that festival portions of the flesh to his wives and children, and when Hannah saw the other wife's children sitting round about their mother, she fell into tears, and lamented herself on account of her barrenness and lonesomeness, and suffering her grief to prevail over her husband's consolations to her, she went to the tabernacle to beseech God to give her seed, and to make her a mother; and to vow to consecrate the first son she should bear to the service of God, and this in such a way, that his manner of living should not be like that of ordinary men. And as she continued at her prayers a long time, Eli, the high priest, for he sat there before the tabernacle, bid her go away, thinking she had been disordered with wine, but when she said she had drank water, but was in sorrow for want of children, and was beseeching God for them, he bid her be of good cheer, and told that God would send her children.

3. So she came to her husband full of hope, and ate her meal with gladness: And when they had returned to their own country she found herself with child, and they had a son born to them, to whom they gave the name of *Samuel*, which may be styled one that was *asked of God*. They therefore came to the tabernacle to offer sacrifice for the birth of the child, and brought their tithes with them; but the woman remembered the vow she had made concerning her son, and delivered him to Eli, dedicating him to God, that he might become a prophet. Accordingly

his hair was suffered to grow long, and his drink was water. So Samuel dwelt and was brought up in the temple. But Elcanah had other sons by Hannah, and three daughters.

4. Now, when Samuel was twelve years old he began to prophesy: and when he was once asleep God called to him by his name, but he, supposing he had been called by the high priest, came to him: but when the priest said he did not call him, God did so thrice. Eli was then so far illuminated, that he said to him, "Indeed, Samuel, I was silent now as well as before; It is God that calls thee: do thou therefore signify it to him, and say, I am here ready." So when he heard God speak again, he desired him to speak, and to deliver what oracles he pleased to him, for he would not fail to perform any ministration whatsoever he should make use of him in; to which God replied, "Since thou art here ready, learn what miseries are coming upon the Israelites, such indeed as words cannot declare, nor faith believe; for the sons of Eli shall die on one day, and the priesthood shall be transferred into the family of Eleazar, for Eli hath loved his sons more than he hath loved my worship, and to such a degree as is not for their advantage." Which message Eli obliged the prophet by oath to tell him, for otherwise he had no inclination to afflict him by telling it.

And now Eli had a far more sure expectation of the perdition of his sons; but the glory of Samuel increased more and more, it being found by experience that whatsoever he prophesied came to pass accordingly.

CHAPTER XI.

Herein is declared what befell the sons of Eli, the ark, and the people; and how Eli himself died miserably.

1. ABOUT this time it was that the Philistines made war against the Israelites, and pitched their camp at the city Aphek. Now when the Israelites had expected them a little while, the very next day they joined battle, and the Philistines were conquerors, and slew above four thousand of the Hebrews, and pursued the rest of their multitude to their camp.

2. So the Hebrews being afraid of the worst, sent to the senate and to the high priest, and desired that they would bring the ark of God, that by putting themselves in array, when it was present with them, they might be too hard for their enemies, as not reflecting that he who had condemned them to endure these calamities was greater than the ark, and for whose sake it was that this ark came to be honoured. So the ark came, and the sons of the high priest within, having received a charge from their father, that if they pretended to survive the taking of the ark, they should come no more into his presence; for Phineas officiated already as high priest, his father having resigned the office to him, by reason of his great age. So the Hebrews were full of courage, as supposing that by the coming of the ark, they should be too hardy for their enemies: their enemies also were greatly concerned, and were afraid of the ark's coming to the Israelites; however, the upshot did not prove agreeable to the expectations of both sides, but when the battle was joined, that victory

which the Hebrews expected, was gained by the Philistines, and that defeat the Philistines were afraid of, fell to the lot of the Israelites, and thereby they found that they put their trust in the ark in vain, for they were presently beaten as soon as they came to a close fight with their enemies, and lost about thirty thousand men, among which were the sons of the high priest; but the ark was carried away by the enemies.

3. When the news of this defeat came to Shiloh, with that of the captivity of the ark, (for a certain young man, a Benjamite, who was in the action, came as a messenger thither,) the whole city was full of lamentations. And Eli the high priest, who sat upon an high throne at one of the gates, heard their mournful cries, and supposed that some strange thing had befallen his family; So he sent for the young man; and when he understood what had happened in the battle, he was not much uneasy as to his sons, or what was told him withal about the army, as having beforehand known by divine revelation that these things would happen, and having himself declared them beforehand, for what sad things come unexpectedly they distress men the most; but as soon as the ark was carried captive by their enemies, he was very much grieved at it, because it fell out quite differently from what he expected, so he fell down from his throne, and died, having in all lived ninety-eight years, and of them retained the government forty.

4. On the same day his son Phineas' wife died also, as not able to survive the misfortune of her husband; for they told her of her husband's death as she was in labour. However, she bare a son at seven months, which lived, and to which they gave the name of *Icabod*, which name signifies *disgrace*,

and this because the army received a *disgrace* at this time.

5. Now Eli was the first of the family of Ithamar, the other son of Aaron, that had the government, for the family of Eleazar officiated as high priest at first, the son still receiving that honour from the father which Eleazar bequeathed to his son Phineas; after whom Abiezer his son took the honour, and delivered it to his son, whose name was *Bukki*, from whom his son Ozi received it; after whom Eli, of whom we have been speaking, had the priesthood, and so had his posterity until the time of Solomon's reign: but then the posterity of Eleazar re-assumed it.

BOOK VI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF THIRTY-TWO YEARS.

[FROM THE DEATH OF ELI TO THE DEATH OF SAUL.]

CHAPTER I.

The destruction that came upon the Philistines, and upon their land, by the wrath of God, on account of their having carried the ark away captive; and after what manner they sent it back to the Hebrews.

1. WHEN the Philistines had taken the ark of the Hebrews captive, as I said a little before, they carried it to the city Ashdod, and put it by their own god, who was called ¹*Dagon*, as one of their spoils; but when they went into his temple, the next morning, to worship their god, they found him paying the same worship to the ark; for he lay along, as having fallen down from the basis whereon he had stood. So they took him up, and set him on his basis again, and were much troubled at what had happened; and as they frequently came to *Dagon* and found him still lying along, in a posture of adoration to the ark, they were in very great distress and confusion. At length God sent a very destructive disease upon the city and country of Ashdod, for they died of the dysentery or flux, a sore distemper, that brought death upon them very suddenly; for before the soul could, as usual in easy deaths,

¹ *Dagon*, a famous maritime god or *idol*, is generally supposed to have been like a *man* above the navel, and like a *fish* beneath it.

be well loosed from the body, they brought up their entrails, and vomited up what they had eaten, and were entirely corrupted by the disease. And as to the fruits of their country, a great multitude of mice arose out of the earth, and hurt them, and spared neither the plants nor the fruits. Now while the people of Ashdod were under these misfortunes, and were not able to support themselves under their calamities, they perceived that they suffered thus because of the ark, and that the victory they had gotten, and their having taken the ark captive, had not happened for their good; they therefore sent to the people of Askelon, and desired that they would receive the ark among them. This desire of the people of Ashdod was not disagreeable to those of Askelon, so they granted them that favour. But when they had gotten the ark, they were in the same miserable condition, for the ark carried along with it, the disasters that the people of Ashdod had suffered, to those who received it from them. Those of Askelon also sent it away from themselves to others: Nor did it stay among those others neither, for since they were pursued by the same disasters, they still sent it to the neighbouring cities; so that the ark went round, after this manner, to the five cities of the Philistines, as though it exacted these disasters as a tribute to be paid it for its coming among them.

2. When those that had experienced these miseries were tired out with them, and when those that heard them were taught thereby not to admit the ark among them, since they paid so dear a tribute for it, at length they sought for some contrivance and method how they might get free from it, so the governors of the five cities, Gath and Ekron, and Askelon, as also of Gaza and Ashdod, met together, and considered what was fit to be done; and at the first they thought

proper to send the ark back to its own people, as allowing that God had avenged its cause; that the miseries they had undergone came along with it, and that these were sent on their cities upon its account, and together with it. However, there were those that said, they should not do so, nor suffer themselves to be deluded, as ascribing the cause of their miseries to it, because it could not have such a power and force upon them; for had God had such a regard to it, it would not have been delivered into the hands of men: So they exhorted them to be quiet, and to take patiently what had befallen them, and to suppose there was no other cause of it but nature, which at certain revolutions of time produces such mutations in the bodies of men, in the earth, in plants, and in all things that grow out of the earth. But the counsel that prevailed over those already described, was that of certain men, who were believed to have distinguished themselves in former times for their understanding and prudence, and who, in their present circumstances, seemed above all the rest to speak properly. These men said, it was not right either to send the ark away, or to retain it, but to dedicate five golden images, one for every city, as a thank-offering to God, on account of his having taken care of their preservation, and having kept them alive when their lives were likely to be taken away by such distempers as they were not able to bear up against. They also would have them make five golden mice¹ like to those that devoured and destroyed their country, to put them in a bag, and lay them upon

¹ Spanheim informs us here, that upon the coins of Tenedos, and those of other cities, a *field mouse* is engraven, together with *Apollo Smintheus*, or *Apollo the driver away of field mice*, on account of his being supposed to have freed certain tracts of ground from those mice: which coins show, how great a judgment such mice have sometimes been, and how the deliverance from them was then esteemed the effect of a divine power; which observations are highly suitable to this history.

the ark; to make them a new cart also for it, and to yoke milch ¹kine to it, but to shut up their calves, and keep them from them, lest by following after them they should prove an hinderance to their dams, and that the dams might return the faster out of a desire of those calves; then to drive these milch kine that carried the ark, and leave it at a place where three ways met, and to leave it to the kine to go along which of those ways they pleased, that in case they went the way to the Hebrews, and ascended to their country, they should suppose that the ark was the cause of their misfortunes, but if they turned into another road, they said, "We will pursue after it, and conclude it has no such force in it."

3. So they determined that these men spake well; and they immediately confirmed their opinion by doing accordingly. And when they had done as has been already described, they brought the cart to a place where three ways met, and left it there, and went their ways; but the kine went the right way, and as if some persons had driven them, while the rulers of the Philistines followed after them, as desirous to know where they would stand still, and to whom they would go. Now there was a certain village of the tribe of Judah, whose name was *Bethshemish*, and to that village did the kine go; and though there was a great and good plain before them to proceed in, they went no farther, but stopped the cart there. This was a sight to those of that village, and they were very glad; for it being then summer time, and all the inhabitants being then in their fields gather-

¹ This device of the Philistines, of having a yoke of kine to draw this cart, into which they put the ark of the Hebrews, is greatly illustrated by Sanchoniatho's account, under his ninth generation, that Agrouerus, or Agrotos the *husbandman*, had a much worshipped statue, and a temple, *carried about by one or more yoke of oxen, or kine, in Phenicia*, in the neighbourhood of these Philistines. See Cumberland's Sanchoniatho, pp. 27, and 247.

ing in their fruits, they left off the labours of their hands for joy, as soon as they saw the ark, and ran to the cart; and taking the ark down, and the vessel that had the images in it, and the mice, they set them upon a certain rock which was in the plain; and when they had offered a splendid sacrifice to God, and feasted, they offered the cart and the kine as a burnt-offering: And when the lords of the Philistines saw this, they returned back.

4. But now it was that the wrath of God overtook them, and struck ¹ seventy persons dead of the village of Bethshemish, who not being priests, and so not worthy to touch the ark, had approached to it. Those of that village wept for these that thus suffered, and made such a lamentation as was naturally to be expected on so great a misfortune that was sent from God, and every one mourned for his own relation. And since they acknowledged themselves unworthy of the ark's abode with them, they sent to the public senate of the Israelites, and informed them that the ark was restored by the Philistines; which when they knew, they brought it away to Kirjathjearim, a city in the neighbourhood of Bethshemish. In this city lived one *Abinadab*, by birth a Levite, and who was greatly commended for his righteous and religious course of life, so they brought the ark to his house, as to a place fit for God himself to abide in, since therein did abide a righteous man. His sons also ministered to the divine service at the ark, and were the principal curators of it for twenty years, for so many years it continued in Kirjathjearim, having been but four months with the Philistines.

¹ These 70 men, being not so much as Levites, touched the ark in a rash or profane manner, and were slain by the hand of God for such their rashness and profaneness, according to the divine threatenings, Numb. iv. 15, 20, but how our other copies come to add such an incredible number as 50,000 in this one town, or small city, I know not.

CHAPTER II.

The expedition of the Philistines against the Hebrews, and the Hebrews' victory under the conduct of Samuel the prophet, who was their general.

1. Now while the city of Kirjathjearim had the ark with them, the whole body of the people betook themselves all that time to offer prayers and sacrifices to God, and appeared greatly concerned and zealous about his worship. So Samuel the prophet, seeing how ready they were to do their duty, thought this a proper time to speak to them, while they were in this good disposition, about the recovery of their liberty, and of the blessings that accompanied the same. Accordingly he used such words to them as he thought were most likely to excite that inclination, and to persuade them to attempt it: "O you Israelites," said he, "to whom the Philistines are still grievous enemies, but to whom God begins to be gracious, it behoves you not only to be desirous of liberty, but to take the proper methods to obtain it. Nor are you to be contented with an inclination to get clear of your lords and masters, while you still do what will procure your continuance under them: Be righteous then, and cast wickedness out of your souls, and by your worship supplicate the divine majesty with all your hearts, and persevere in the honour you pay to him; for if you act thus, you will enjoy prosperity; you will be freed from your slavery, and will get the victory over your enemies; which blessings it is not possible you should attain, neither by weapons of war, nor by the strength of your bodies, nor by the

multitude of your assistance; for God has not promised to grant these blessings by those means, but by being good and righteous men; and if you will be such, I will be security to you for the performance of God's promises." When Samuel had said thus, the multitude applauded his discourse, and were pleased with his exhortation to them, and gave their consent to resign themselves up to do what was pleasing to God. So Samuel gathered them together to a certain city called *Mizpeh*, which signifies in the Hebrew tongue a *watch tower*; there they drew water, and poured it out to God, and fasted all day, and betook themselves to their prayers.

2. This their assembly did not escape the notice of the Philistines: so when they had learned that so large a company had met together, they fell upon the Hebrews with a great army and mighty forces, as hoping to assault them when they did not expect it, nor were prepared for it. This thing affrighted the Hebrews, and put them into disorder and terror; so they came running to Samuel, and said, "that their souls were sunk by their fears, and by the former defeat they had received, and that thence it was that we lay still, lest we should excite the power of our enemies against us. Now while thou hast brought us hither to offer up our prayers and sacrifices, and take oaths [to be obedient,] our enemies are making an expedition against us, while we are naked and unarmed; wherefore we have no other hope of deliverance but that by thy means, and by the assistance God shall afford us upon thy prayers to him, we shall obtain deliverance from the Philistines." Hereupon Samuel bid them be of good cheer, and promised them that God would assist them; and taking a sucking lamb he sacrificed it for the multitude, and besought God to hold his protecting hand over them

when they should fight the Philistines, and not to overlook them, nor suffer them to come under a second misfortune. Accordingly God hearkened to his prayers, and accepting their sacrifice with a gracious intention, and such as was disposed to assist them, he granted them victory and power over their enemies. Now while the altar had the sacrifice of God upon it, and had not yet consumed it wholly by its sacred fire, the enemy's army marched out of their camp, and was put in order of battle, and this in hope that they should be conquerors, since the Jews¹ were caught in distressed circumstances, as neither having their weapons with them, nor being assembled there in order to fight. But things so fell out, that they would hardly have been credited though they had been foretold by any body; for in the first place, God disturbed the enemies with an earthquake, and moved the ground under them to such a degree, that he caused it to tremble, and made them to shake, insomuch that by its trembling, he made some unable to keep their feet, and made them fall down, and by opening its chasms, he caused that others should be hurried down into them, after which he caused such a noise of thunder to come among them, and made fiery lightning shine so terribly round about them, that it was ready to burn their faces; and he so suddenly shook their weapons out of their hands, that he made them fly and return home naked. So Samuel with the multitude pursued them to Bethcar, a place so called; and there he set up a stone as a boundary of their victory, and their enemies' flight, and called it the *Stone of Power*, as a signal of that *power* God had given them against their enemies.

3. So the Philistines after this stroke, made no

¹ This is the first place, in these Antiquities, where Josephus begins to call his nation *Jews*, he having hitherto usually, if not constantly, called them either *Hebrews* or *Israelites*. The second place soon follows, ch. iii. sect. 5.

more expeditions against the Israelites, but lay still out of fear, and out of remembrance of what had befallen them; and what courage the Philistines had formerly against the Hebrews, that, after this victory, was transferred to the Hebrews. Samuel also made an expedition against the Philistines, and slew many of them, and entirely humbled their proud hearts, and took from them that country, which, when they were formerly conquerors in battle, they had cut off from the Jews, which was the country that extended from the borders of Gath to the city Ekron: But the remains of the Canaanites were at this time in friendship with the Israelites.

CHAPTER III.

How Samuel, when he was so infirm with old age that he could not take care of the public affairs, intrusted them to his sons; and how upon the evil administration of the government by them, the multitude were so angry, that they required to have a king to govern them, although Samuel was much displeased thereat.

1. BUT Samuel the prophet, when he had ordered the affairs of the people after a convenient manner, and had appointed a city for every district of them, he commanded them to come to such cities, to have the controversies that they had one with another determined in them, he himself going over those cities twice in a year, and doing them justice: and by that means he kept them in very good order for a long time.

2. But afterwards he found himself oppressed with old age, and not able to do what he used to do, so he committed the government and the care of the multi-

tude to his sons; the elder of which was called Joel, and the name of the younger was Abiah. He also enjoined them to reside and judge the people, the one at the city Bethel, and the other at Beersheba, and divided the people into districts that should be under the jurisdiction of each of them. Now these men afford us an evident example and demonstration, how some children are not of the like dispositions with their parents, and sometimes perhaps good and moderate, though born of wicked parents, and sometimes showing themselves to be wicked, though born of good parents; for these men turning aside from their father's good courses, and taking a course that was contrary to them, perverted justice for the filthy lucre of gifts and bribes, and made their determinations not according to truth, but according to bribery, and turned aside to luxury, and a costly way of living, so that as in the first place, they practised what was contrary to the will of God, so did they, in the second place, what was contrary to the will of the prophet their father, who had taken a great deal of care, and made a very careful provision that the multitude should be righteous.

3. But the people upon these injuries offered to their former constitution and government by the prophet's sons, were very uneasy at their actions, and came running to the prophet, who then lived at the city Ramah, and informed him of the transgressions of his sons; and said, "that as he was himself old already, and too infirm by that age of his to oversee their affairs in the manner he used to do, so they begged of him, and entreated him to appoint some person to be king over them, who might rule over the nation, and avenge them of the Philistines, who ought to be punished for their former oppressions." These words greatly afflicted Samuel, on account of his innate love of justice, and his hatred to kingly government,

for he was very fond of an aristocracy, as what made the men that used it of a divine happy disposition: Nor could he either think of eating or sleeping, out of his concern and torment of mind at what they had said, but all the night long did he continue awake, and revolved these notions in his mind.

4. While he was thus disposed, God appeared to him, and comforted him, saying, "That he ought not to be uneasy at what the multitude desired, because it was not he, but Himself whom they so insolently despised, and would not have to be alone their King; that they had been contriving these things from the very day that they came out of Egypt, that however in no long time they would sorely repent of what they did, which repentance yet could not undo what was thus done for futurity: that they would be sufficiently rebuked for their contempt, and the ungrateful conduct they have used towards me, and towards thy prophetic office. So I command thee to ordain them such a one as I shall name beforehand to be their king, when thou hast first described what mischiefs kingly government will bring upon them, and openly testify before them unto what a great change of affairs they are hasting."

5. When Samuel had heard this, he called the Jews early in the morning, and confessed to them that he was to ordain them a king; but he said that he was first to describe to them what would follow, what treatment they would receive from their kings, and with how many mischiefs they must struggle: "For know ye, said he, that, in the first place, they will take your sons away from you, and they will command some of them to be drivers of their chariots, and some to be their horsemen, and the guards of their body, and others of them to be runners before them, and captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds; they will also make them their artificers, makers of armour, and of chariots,

and of instruments, they will make them their husbands also, and the curators of their own fields, and the diggers of their own vineyards; nor will there be any thing which they will not do at their commands, as if they were slaves bought with money. They will also appoint your daughters to be confectioners, and cooks, and bakers; and these will be obliged to do all sorts of work, which women slaves, that are in fear of stripes and torments, submit to. They will besides this, take away your possessions, and bestow them upon their eunuchs, and the guards of their bodies, and will give the herds of your cattle to their own servants; and to say briefly all at once, you, and all that is yours, will be servants to your king, and will become no way superior to his slaves; and when you suffer thus, you will thereby be put in mind of what I now say. And when you repent of what you have done, you will beseech God to have mercy upon you, and to grant you a quick deliverance from your kings; but he will not accept your prayers, but will neglect you, and permit you to suffer the punishment your evil conduct has deserved."

6. But the multitude was still so foolish as to be deaf to these predictions of what would befall them: and too peevish to suffer a determination which they had injudiciously once made to be taken out of their mind, for they could not be turned from their purpose: nor did they regard the words of Samuel, but peremptorily insisted on their resolution, and desired him to ordain them a king immediately, and not to trouble himself with fears of what would happen hereafter, for that it was necessary they should have with them one to fight their battles, and to avenge them of their enemies, and that it was no way absurd, when their neighbours were under kingly government that they should have the same form of government also. So

when Samuel saw that what he had said had not diverted them from their purpose, but that they continued resolute, he said, "Go you every one home for the present; when it is fit I will send for you, as soon as I shall have learned from God, who it is that he will give you for a king."

CHAPTER IV.

The appointment of a king over the Israelites, whose name was Saul; and this by the command of God.

1. THERE was one of the tribe of Benjamin, a man of good family, and of a virtuous disposition; his name was Kish. He had a son a young man of a comely countenance, and of a tall body, but his understanding and his mind were preferable to what was visible in him, they called him Saul. Now this Kish had some fine she asses that were wandered out of the pasture wherein they fed, for he was more delighted with these than with any other cattle he had, so he sent out his son and one servant with him to search for the beasts; but when he had gone over his own tribe in search after the asses, he went to other tribes, and when he found them not there neither, he determined to go his way home, lest he should occasion any concern to his father about himself. But when his servant that followed him told him as they were near the city of Ramah, that there was a true prophet in that city, and advised him to go to him, for that by him they would know the upshot of the affair of their asses, he replied, That if they should go to him, they had nothing to give him as a reward for his prophecy, for their subsistence money was spent. The servant answered, that he had

still the ¹ fourth part of a shekel, and he would present him with that, for they were mistaken out of ignorance, as not knowing that the prophet received no such reward. So they went to him, and when they were before the gates, they light upon certain maidens that were going to fetch water; and they asked them which was the prophet's house? they showed them which it was; and bid them make haste before he sat down to supper, for he had invited many guests to a feast, and that he used to sit down before those that were invited. Now Samuel had then gathered many together to feast with him on this very account, for while he every day prayed to God to tell him beforehand, whom he would make king, he had informed him of this man the day before, for that he would send him a certain young man out of the tribe of Benjamin about this hour of the day; and he sat on the top of the house in expectation of that time's being come. And when the time was completed, he came down and went to supper; so he met with Saul, and God discovered to him, that this was he who should rule over them. Then Saul went up to Samuel and saluted him, and desired him to inform him which was the prophet's house? for he said he was a stranger and did not know it. When Samuel had told him that he was himself the person, he led him in to supper, and assured him that the asses were found which he had been to seek, and that the greatest of good things were assured to him; he replied, "Sir, I am too inconsiderable to hope for any such thing, and of a tribe too small to have kings made out of it, and of a family smaller than several other families; but thou tellest me this in jest, and makest me an object of laughter, when thou discourshest with me of

¹ Of this great mistake of Saul and his servants, as if a true prophet of God would accept of a gift or present, for foretelling what was desired of him; see the note on B. IV. ch. vi. sect. 3.

greater matters than what I stand in need of." However the prophet led him in to the feast, and made him sit down, him and his servant that followed him, above the other guests that were invited, which were ¹ seventy in number; and he gave order to the servants to set the royal portion before Saul. But when the time of going to bed was come, the rest rose up, and every one of them went home, but Saul stayed with the prophet, he and his servant, and slept with him.

2. But as soon as it was day, Samuel raised up Saul out of his bed, and conducted him homeward; and when he was out of the city, he desired him to cause his servant to go before, but to stay behind himself, for that he had somewhat to say to him, when nobody else was present. Accordingly, Saul sent away his servant that followed him; then did the prophet take a vessel of oil, and poured it upon the head of the young man, and kissed him and said, "Be thou a king by the ordination of God against the Philistines, and for avenging the Hebrews for what they have suffered by them; of this thou shalt have a sign, which I would have thee take notice of; as soon as thou art departed hence, thou wilt find three men upon the road, going to worship God at Bethel, the first of which thou wilt see carrying three loaves of bread, the second carrying a kid of the goats, and the third will follow them carrying a bottle of wine. These three men will salute thee, and speak kindly to thee, and will give thee two of their loaves; which thou shalt accept of. And thence thou shalt come to a place called *Rachael's monument*, where thou shalt meet with those that will tell thee thy

¹ It seems to me not improbable, that these 70 guests of Samuel, as here with himself at the head of them, were a Jewish Sanhedrim, and that hereby Samuel intimated to Saul, that these 71 were to be his constant counsellors, and that he was to act not like a sole monarch, but with the advice and direction of these 71 members of the Jewish Sanhedrim upon all occasions, which we never read yet that he consulted afterwards.

asses are found; after this, when thou comest to Gabatha, thou shalt overtake a company of prophets, and thou shalt be seized with the ¹ divine Spirit, and prophesy along with them, till every one that sees thee shall be astonished, and wonder, and say, Whence is it that the son of Kish has arrived at this degree of happiness? And when these signs have happened to thee, know that God is with thee: then do thou salute thy father, and thy kindred. Thou shalt also come when I send for thee to Gilgal, that we may offer thank-offerings to God for these blessings." When Samuel had said this, and foretold these things, he sent the young man away. Now all things fell out to Saul according to the prophecy of Samuel.

3. But as soon as Saul came into the house of his kinsman Abner, whom indeed he loved better than the rest of his relations, he was asked by him concerning his journey, and what accidents happened to him therein; and he concealed none of the other things from him, no, not his coming to Samuel the prophet, nor how he told him the asses were found; but he said nothing to him about the kingdom, and what belonged thereto, which he thought would procure him envy, and when such things are heard, they are not easily believed; nor did he think it prudent to tell those things to him, although he appeared very friendly to him, and one whom he loved above the rest of his relations, considering, I suppose, what human nature really is, that no one is a firm friend, neither among our intimates, nor of our kindred, nor do they preserve that kind disposition when God advances men to great prosperity, but they are still ill-natured and envious at those that are in eminent stations.

¹ An instance of this divine fury we have after this in Saul, ch. v. sect. 2, 3, 1 Sam. xi. 6. See the like, Judg. iii. 10, and vi. 34, and xi. 29, and xiii. 25, and xiv. 6.

4. Then Samuel called the people together to the city Mispah, and spake to them in the words following, which he said he was to speak by the command of God: That "when he had granted them a state of liberty, and brought their enemies into subjection, they were become unmindful of his benefits, and rejected God that he should not be their King, as not considering that it would be most for their advantage to be presided over by the best of Beings; for God is the best of beings, and they chose to have a man for their king; while kings will use their subjects as beasts, according to the violence of their own wills and inclinations, and other passions, as wholly carried away with the lust of power, but will not endeavour so to preserve the race of mankind as his own workmanship and creation, which, for that very reason, God would take care of. But since you have come to a fixed resolution, and this injurious treatment of God has quite prevailed over you, dispose yourselves by your tribes and sceptres, and cast lots."

5. When the Hebrews had so done, the lot fell upon the tribe of Benjamin; and when the lot was cast for the families of this tribe, that which was called *Matri*, was taken; and when the lot was cast for the single persons of that family, Saul, the son of Kish, was taken for their king. When the young man knew this, he prevented [their sending for him], and immediately went away, and hid himself. I suppose that it was because he would not have it thought that he willingly took the government upon him; nay, he showed such a degree of command over himself, and of modesty, that while the greatest part are not able to contain their joy, even in the gaining of small advantages, but presently show themselves publicly to all men, this man did not only show nothing of that nature, when he was appointed to be the lord of so

many, and so great tribes, but crept away and concealed himself out of the sight of those he was to reign over, and made them seek him, and that with a good deal of trouble. So when the people were at a loss, and solicitous, because Saul disappeared, the prophet besought God to show where the young man was, and to produce him before them. So when they had learned of God the place where Saul was hidden, they sent men to bring him, and when he was come, they set him in the midst of the multitude. Now he was taller than any of them, and his stature was very majestic.

6. Then said the prophet, God gives you this man to be your king: See how he is higher than any of the people, and worthy of this dominion. So as soon as the people had made acclamation, *God save the king*; the prophet wrote down what would come to pass in a book, and read it in the hearing of the king, and laid up the book in the tabernacle of God, to be a witness to future generations of what he had foretold. So when Samuel had finished this matter, he dismissed the multitude, and came himself to the city Ramah, for it was his own country. Saul also went away to Gibeah, where he was born: and many good men there were who paid him the respect that was due to him; but the greater part were ill men, who despised him, and derided the others, who neither did bring him presents, nor did they in affection, or even in words, regard to please him.

CHAPTER V.

Saul's expedition against the nation of the Ammonites and victory over them, and the spoils he took from them.

1. AFTER one month, the war which Saul had with Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, obtained to him respect from all the people, for this Nahash had done a great deal of mischief to the Jews that lived beyond Jordan, by the expedition he had made against them with a great and warlike army. He also reduced their cities into slavery, and that not only by subduing them for the present, which he did by force and violence; but weakening them by subtilty and cunning, that they might not be able afterward to get clear of the slavery they were under to him; for he put out the right ¹ eyes of those that either delivered themselves to him upon terms, or were taken by him in war; and this he did, that when their left eyes were covered by their shields, they might be wholly useless in war. Now when the king of the Ammonites had served those beyond Jordan in this manner, he led his army against those that were called Gileadites; and having pitched his camp at the metropolis of his enemies, which was the city Jabesh, he sent ambassadors to them, commanding them either to deliver themselves up, on condition to have their right eyes plucked out, or to undergo a siege, and to have their cities overthrown. He gave them their choice, whether they would cut off a small

¹ Take here Theodoret's note, cited by Dr. Hudson: "He that exposes his shield to the enemy with his left hand, thereby hides his left eye, and looks at the enemy with his right eye: He therefore that plucks out that eye makes men useless in war."

member of their body, or universally perish. However the Gileadites were so affrighted at these offers, that they had not courage to say any thing to either of them, neither that they would deliver themselves up, or that they would fight him. But they desired that he would give them seven days respite, that they might send ambassadors to their countrymen, and entreat their assistance; and if they came to assist them, they would fight, but if that assistance were impossible to be obtained from them, they said they would deliver themselves up to suffer whatever he pleased to inflict upon them.

2. So Nahash, contemning the multitude of the Gileadites, and the answer they gave, allowed them a respite, and gave them leave to send to whomsoever they pleased for assistance. So they immediately sent to the Israelites, city by city, and informed them what Nahash had threatened to do to them, and what great distress they were in. Now the people fell into tears and grief, at the hearing of what the ambassadors from Jabesh said; and the terror they were in, permitted them to do nothing more. But when the messengers were come to the city of king Saul, and declared the dangers in which the inhabitants of Jabesh were, the people were in the same affliction as those in the other cities, for they lamented the calamity of these related to them. And when Saul was returned from his husbandry into the city, he found his fellow-citizens weeping; and when upon inquiry, he had learned the cause of the confusion and sadness they were in, he was seized with a divine fury, and sent away the ambassadors from the inhabitants of Jabesh, and promised them to come to their assistance on the third day, and to beat their enemies before sun-rising, that the sun, upon its rising, might see that they had already conquered, and were freed from the fears they were under:

But he bid some of them stay to conduct them the right way to Jabesh.

3. So being desirous to turn the people to this war against the Ammonites by fear of the losses they should otherwise undergo, and that they might the more suddenly be gathered together, he cut the sinews of his oxen, and threatened to do the same to all such as did not come with their armour to Jordan the next day, and follow him and Samuel the prophet whithersoever they should lead them. So they came together, out of fear of the losses they were threatened with, at the appointed time. And the multitude were numbered at the city Bezek. And he found the number of those that were gathered together, besides that of the tribe of Judah, to be seven hundred thousand, while those of that tribe were seventy thousand. So he passed over Jordan, and proceeded in marching all that night thirty furlongs, and came to Jabesh before sun-rising. So he divided the army into three companies; and fell upon their enemies on every side on the sudden, and when they expected no such thing: and joining battle with them, they slew a great many of the Ammonites; as also their king Nahash. This glorious action was done by Saul, and was related with great commendation of him to all the Hebrews; and he thence gained a wonderful reputation for his valour: For although there were some of them that contemned him before, they now changed their minds, and honoured him, and esteemed him as the best of men: for he did not content himself with having saved the inhabitants of Jabesh only, but he made an expedition into the country of the Ammonites and laid it all waste, and took a large prey, and so returned to his own country most gloriously: So the people were greatly pleased at these excellent performances of Saul's, and rejoiced that they had constituted him their king. They also made a clamour

against those that pretended he would be of no advantage to their affairs; and they said, where now are these men, let them be brought to punishment, with all the like things that multitudes do usually say, when they are elevated with prosperity, against those that lately had despised the authors of it. But Saul, although he took the good will and the affection of these men very kindly, yet did he swear that he would not see any of his countrymen slain that day, since it was absurd to mix this victory, which God had given them, with the blood and slaughter of those that were of the same image with themselves; and that it was more agreeable to be men of a friendly disposition, and so to betake themselves to feasting.

4. And when Samuel had told them that he ought to confirm the kingdom to Saul by a second ordination of him, they all came together to the city Gilgal, for thither did he command them to come. So the prophet anointed Saul with the holy oil, in the sight of the multitude, and declared him to be king the second time. And so the government of the Hebrews was changed into a regal government; for in the days of Moses, and his disciple Joshua, who was their general, they continued under an aristocracy, but after the death of Joshua, for eighteen years in all, the multitude had no settled form of government, but were in an anarchy; after which they returned to their former government, they then permitting themselves to be judged by him who appeared to be the best warrior, and most courageous, whence it was that they called this interval of their government the *Judges*.

5. Then did Samuel the prophet call another assembly also, and said to them, "I solemnly adjure you by God Almighty, who brought those excellent brethren, I mean Moses and Aaron into the world, and delivered our fathers from the Egyptians, and from the

slavery they endured under them, that you will not speak what you say to gratify me, nor suppress any thing out of fear of me, nor be overborne by any other passion, but say, what have I ever done that was cruel or unjust; or what have I done out of lucre or covetousness, or to gratify others? Bear witness against me, if I have taken an ox or a sheep, or any such thing, which yet when they are taken to support men, it is esteemed blameless; or have I taken an ass for mine own use of any one to his grief? Lay some one such crime to my charge, now we are in your king's presence." But they cried out, That "no such thing had been done by him, but that he had presided over the nation after an holy and righteous manner."

6. Hereupon Samuel, when such a testimony had been given him by them all, said, "Since you grant that you are not able to lay any ill thing to my charge hitherto, come on now, and do you hearken while I speak with great freedom to you. You have been guilty of great impiety against God in asking you a king. It behoves you to remember, that our grandfather Jacob came down into Egypt, by reason of a famine, with seventy souls only of our family, and that their posterity multiplied there to many ten thousands, whom the Egyptians brought into slavery, and hard oppression; that God himself, upon the prayers of our fathers, sent Moses and Aaron, who were brethren, and gave them power to deliver the multitude out of their distress, and this without a king. These brought us into this very land which you now possess: And when you enjoyed these advantages from God, you betrayed his worship and religion; nay, moreover, when you were brought under the hands of your enemies, he delivered you, first by rendering you superior to the Assyrians and their forces, he then made you to over-

come the Ammonites, and Moabites, and last of all the Philistines; and these things have been achieved under the conduct of Jephtha and Gideon. What madness therefore possessed you to fly from God, and to desire to be under a king; yet have I ordained him for king whom he chose for you. However, that I may make it plain to you, that God is angry and displeased at your choice of kingly government, I will so dispose him that he shall declare this very plainly to you by strange signals, for what none of you ever saw here before, I mean a ¹ winter storm in the midst of harvest, I will entreat of God, and will make it visible to you." Now, as soon as he had said this, God gave such great signals by thunder and lightning, and the descent of hail, as attested the truth of all that the prophet had said, insomuch that they were amazed and terrified, and confessed they had sinned, and had fallen into the sin through ignorance; and besought the prophet, as one that was a tender and gentle father to them, to render God so merciful as to forgive this their sin, which they had added to those other offences whereby they had affronted him and transgressed against him. So he promised them that he would beseech God, and persuade him to forgive them these their sins. However, he advised them to be righteous, and to be good, and ever to remember the miseries that had befallen them on account of their departure from virtue: as also, to remember the strange signs God had showed them, and the body of laws that Moses had given them, if they had any desire of being preserved and made happy with their king. But he said, that if they should grow careless of these things, great judgments would come

¹ Mr. Reland observes here, and proves elsewhere in his note on Antiq. B. III. ch. i. sect. 6, that although thunder and lightning with us happen usually in summer, yet in Palestine and Syria, they are chiefly confined to winter. Josephus takes notice of the same thing again. Of the War, B. IV. ch. iv. sect. 5, Vol. IV.

from God upon them, and upon their king. And when Samuel had thus prophesied to the Hebrews he dismissed them to their own homes, having confirmed the kingdom to Saul the second time.

CHAPTER VI.

How the Philistines made another expedition against the Hebrews, and were beaten.

1. Now Saul chose out of the multitude about three thousand men, and he took two thousand of them to be the guards of his own body, and abode in the city Bethel, but he gave the rest of them to Jonathan his son to be the guards of his body; and sent him to Gibeah, where he besieged and took a certain garrison of the Philistines, not far from Gilgal, for the Philistines of Gibeah had beaten the Jews, and taken their weapons away, and had put garrisons into the strongest places of the country, and had forbidden them to carry any instrument of iron, or at all to make use of any iron in any case whatsoever. And on account of this prohibition it was that the husbandmen, if they had any occasion to sharpen any of their tools, whether it were the coulter or the spade, or any instrument of husbandry, they came to the Philistines to do it. Now as soon as the Philistines heard of this slaughter of their garrison, they were in a rage about it, and looking on this contempt as a terrible affront offered them, they made war against the Jews, with three hundred thousand footmen, and thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horses, and they pitched their camp at the city of Michmash. When Saul the king of the Hebrews, was informed of this, he went down to the city

Gilgal, and made proclamation over all the country, that they should try to regain their liberty; and called them to the war against the Philistines, diminishing their forces, and despising them as not very considerable, and as not so great, but they might hazard a battle with them. But when the people about Saul observed how numerous the Philistines were, they were under a great consternation; and some of them hid themselves in caves, and in dens under ground, but the greater part fled into the land beyond Jordan, which belonged to Gad and Reubel.

2. But Saul sent to the prophet, and called him to consult with him about the war, and the public affairs: So he commanded him to stay there for him, and to prepare sacrifices, for he would come to him within seven days, that they might offer sacrifices on the seventh day, and might then join battle with their enemies. So he ¹ waited, as the prophet sent to him

¹ Saul seems to have stayed till near the time of the evening sacrifice, on the seventh day, which Samuel the prophet of God, had appointed him, but not till the end of that day, as he ought to have done; and Samuel appears by delaying to come to the full time of the evening sacrifice on that seventh day, to have tried him, (who seems to have been already for some time declining, from his strict and bounden, subordination to God, and his prophet, to have taken life guards for himself and his son, which was entirely a new thing in Israel, and savoured of a distrust of God's providence, and to have affected more than he ought, that independent authority which the Pagan kings took to themselves;) Samuel, I say, seems to have here tried Saul, whether he would stay till the priest came, who alone could lawfully offer the sacrifices, or would boldly and profanely usurp the priest's office, which he venturing upon, was justly rejected for his profaneness. And, indeed, since Saul had accepted kingly power, which naturally becomes ungovernable and tyrannical, as God foretold, and the experience of all ages has shown, the divine settlement by Moses, had soon been laid aside under the kings, had not God, by keeping strictly to his laws, and severely executing the threatenings therein contained, restrained Saul and other kings in some degree of obedience to himself: Nor was even this severity sufficient to restrain most of the future kings of Israel and Judah, from the grossest idolatry and impiety. Of the advantage of which strictness, in the observing divine laws, and inflicting their threatened penalties, see Antiq. B. VI. ch. xii. sect. 7, and *contra* Apion. B. II. sect. 30, where Josephus speaks of that matter, though it must be noted that it seems at least in

to do, yet did not he however observe the command that was given him, but when he saw that the prophet tarried longer than he expected, and that he was deserted by the soldiers, he took the sacrifices and offered them, and when he heard that Samuel was come, he went out to meet him. But the prophet said he had not done well in disobeying the injunctions he had sent to him, and had not stayed till his coming, which being appointed according to the will of God, he had prevented him in offering up those prayers, and those sacrifices, that he should have made for the multitude, and that he therefore had performed divine offices in an ill manner, and had been rash in performing them. Hereupon Saul made an apology for himself, and said, "That he had waited as many days as Samuel had appointed him; that he had been so quick in offering his sacrifices, upon account of the necessity he was in, and because his soldiers were departing from him, out of their fear of the enemy's camp at Michmash, the report being gone abroad that they were coming down upon him to Gilgal." To which Samuel replied, "Nay, certainly if thou hadst been a righteous man, and hadst not disobeyed me, nor slighted the commands which God suggested to me concerning the present state of affairs, and hadst not acted more hastily than the present circumstances required, thou wouldst have been permitted to reign a long time, and thy posterity after thee." So Samuel being grieved at what had happened, returned home; but Saul came to the city Gibeah, with his son Jonathan, having only six hundred men with him; and of these the greater part had no weapons, because of the scarcity of iron

three instances, that good men did not always immediately approve of such divine severity. There seems to be one instance, 1 Sam. vi. 19, 20, another, 1 Sam. xv. 11, and a third, 2 Sam. vi. 8, 9, Antiq. B. VI. ch. vii. sect. 2, though they all at last acquiesced in the divine conduct, as knowing that *God is wiser than men.*

in that country, as well as of those that could make such weapons, for as we showed a little before, the Philistines had not suffered them to have such iron, or such workmen. Now the Philistines divided their army into three companies, and took as many roads, and laid waste the country of the Hebrews, while king Saul and his son Jonathan saw what was done, but were not able to defend the land, as no more than six hundred men were with them. But as he and his son, and Abiah the high priest, who was of the posterity of Eli the high priest, were sitting upon a pretty high hill, and seeing the land laid waste, they were mightily disturbed at it. Now Saul's son agreed with his armour-bearer, that they would go privately to the enemy's camp, and make a tumult and a disturbance among them. And when the armour-bearer had readily promised to follow him whithersoever he should lead him, though he should be obliged to die in the attempt; Jonathan made use of the young man's assistance, and descended from the hill, and went to their enemies. Now the enemy's camp was upon a precipice, which had three tops, that ended in a small but sharp and long extremity, while there was a rock that surrounded them, like lines made to prevent the attacks of an enemy. There it so happened, that the out-guards of the camp were neglected, because of the security that here arose from the situation of the place, and because they thought it altogether impossible, not only to ascend up to the camp on that quarter, but so much as to come near it. As soon therefore as they came to the camp, Jonathan encouraged his armour-bearer, and said to him, "Let us attack our enemies; and if when they see us they bid us come up to them, take that for a signal of victory; but if they say nothing, as not intending to invite us to come up, let us return back again." So when they were approach-

ing to the enemies' camp, just after break of day, and the Philistines saw them, they said one to another, "The Hebrews come out of their dens and caves:" And they said to Jonathan and to his armour-bearer, "Come on, ascend up to us, that we may inflict a just punishment upon you, for your rash attempt upon us." So Saul's son accepted of that invitation, as what signified to him victory, and he immediately came out of the place whence they were seen by their enemies, so he changed his place, and came to the rock which had none to guard it, because of its own strength; from thence they crept up with great labour and difficulty; and so far overcame by force the nature of the place, till they were able to fight with their enemies. So they fell upon them as they were asleep, and slew about twenty of them, and thereby filled them with disorder and surprise, insomuch that some of them threw away their entire armour and fled; but the greatest part not knowing one another because they were of different nations, suspected one another to be enemies, (for they did not imagine there were only two of the Hebrews that came up,) and so they fought one against another: and some of them died in the battle, and some, as they were flying away, were thrown down from the rock headlong.

3. Now Saul's watchmen told the king, that the camp of the Philistines was in confusion; then he inquired whether any body was gone away from the army? and when he heard that his son, and with him his armour-bearer, were absent, he bid the high priest take the garments of his high priesthood, and prophesy to him what success they should have; who said, "That they should get the victory, and prevail against their enemies." So he went out after the Philistines, and set upon them as they were slaying one another. Those also came running to him, who had fled to dens

and caves, upon hearing that Saul was gaining a victory. When therefore the number of the Hebrews that came to Saul amounted to about ten thousand, he pursued the enemy, who were scattered all over the country; but then he fell into an action, which was a very unhappy one, and liable to be very much blamed; for whether out of ignorance, or whether out of joy for a victory gained so strangely, for it frequently happens, that persons so fortunate are not then able to use their reason consistently, as he was desirous to avenge himself, and to exact a due punishment of the Philistines, he denounced ¹ a curse on the Hebrews, "That if any one put a stop to his slaughter of the enemy, and fell on eating and left off the slaughter or the pursuit before the night came on, and obliged them so to do, he should be accursed." Now after Saul had denounced this curse, since they were now in a wood belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, which was thick and full of bees, Saul's son, who did not hear his father denounce that curse, nor hear of the approbation the multitude gave to it, broke off a piece of an honey-comb, and ate part of it. But, in the meantime, he was informed with what a curse his father had forbidden them to taste any thing before sun-setting: so he left off eating, and said, "His father had not done well in this prohibition, because had they taken some food, they had pursued the enemy with greater vigour and alacrity, and had both taken and slain many more of their enemies."

¹ This rash vow or curse of Saul's which Josephus says was confirmed by the people, and yet not executed, I suppose principally, because Jonathan did not know of it, is very remarkable, being of the essence of the obligation of all laws, that they be sufficiently known and promulgated; otherwise the conduct of providence, as to the sacredness of solemn oaths and vows, in God's refusing to answer by *Urim*, till this breach of Saul's vow or curse was understood and set right, and God propitiated by public prayer, is here very remarkable, as indeed it is every where else in the Old Testament.

4. When therefore they had slain many ten thousands of the Philistines, they fell upon spoiling the camp of the Philistines, but not till late in the evening. They also took a great deal of prey, and cattle, and killed them, and ate them with their blood. This was told to the king by the Scribes, that the multitude were sinning against God, as they sacrificed, and were eating before the blood was well washed away, and the flesh was made clean. Then did Saul give order that a great stone should be rolled into the midst of them, and he made proclamation that they should kill their sacrifices upon it, and not feed upon the flesh with the blood, for that was not acceptable to God. And when all the people did as the king commanded them, Saul¹ erected an altar there, and offered burnt-offerings upon it to God. This was the first altar that Saul built.

5. So when Saul was desirous of leading his men to the enemy's camp before it was day, in order to plunder it, and when the soldiers were not unwilling to follow him, but indeed showed great readiness to do as he commanded them, the king called Ahitub the high priest, and enjoined him to know of God, whether he would grant him the favour and permission to go against the enemy's camp, in order to destroy those that were in it. And when the priest said, That God did not give any answer, "And not without some cause, said Saul, does God refuse to answer what we inquire of him, while yet a little while ago he declared to us all that we desired beforehand, and even prevented us in his answer. To be sure there is some

¹ Here we have still more indications of Saul's affectation of despotic power, and of his entrenching upon the priesthood, and making and endeavouring to execute a rash vow or curse without consulting Samuel or the Sanhedrim. In this view it is also that I look upon this erection of a new altar by Saul, and his offering of burnt-offerings himself upon it, and not as any proper instance of devotion or religion, with other commentators.

sin against him that is concealed from us, which is the occasion of his silence. Now I swear by him himself, that though he that hath committed this sin should prove to be my own son Jonathan, I will slay him, and by that means will appease the anger of God against us, and that in the very same manner as if I were to punish a stranger, and one not at all related to me, for the same offence." So when the multitude cried out to him so to do, he presently set all the rest on one side, and he and his son stood on the other side, and he sought to discover the offender by lot. Now the lot appeared to fall upon Jonathan himself. So when he was asked by his father what sin he had been guilty of? and what he was conscious of in the course of his life that might be esteemed instances of guilt or profaneness? his answer was this, "O father, I have done nothing more than that yesterday, without knowing of the curse and oath thou hadst denounced, while I was in pursuit of the enemy, I tasted of an honey-comb." But Saul swore that he would slay him, and prefer the observation of his oath before all the ties of birth and of nature. And Jonathan was not dismayed at this threatening of death, but offering himself to it generously, and undauntedly, he said, "Nor do I desire you, father, to spare me: death will be to me very acceptable, when it proceeds from thy piety, and after a glorious victory; for it is the greatest consolation to me, that I leave the Hebrews victorious over the Philistines." Hereupon all the people were very sorry, and greatly afflicted for Jonathan, and they swore that they would not overlook Jonathan, and see him die, who was the author of their victory. By which means they snatched him out of the danger he was in from his father's curse, while they made their prayers to God also for the young man, that he would remit his sin.

6. So Saul having slain about sixty thousand of the enemy, returned home to his own city, and reigned happily: and he also fought against the neighbouring nations, and subdued the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Philistines, and Edomites and Amalekites, as also the king of Zobah. He had three male children, Jonathan, and Isui, and Melc-hishua; with Merab and Michal his daughters. He had also Abner, his uncle's son, for the captain of his host; that uncle's name was *Ner*. Now *Ner* and *Kish*, the father of Saul, were brothers. Saul had also a great many chariots and horsemen: against whomsoever he made war, he returned conqueror, and advanced the affairs of the Hebrews to a great degree of success and prosperity, and made them superior to other nations: and he made such of the young men that were remarkable for tallness and comeliness the guards of his body.

CHAPTER VII.

Saul's war with the Amalekites, and conquest of them.

1. Now Samuel came unto Saul, and said to him, "That he was sent by God to put him in mind that God had preferred him before all others, and ordained him king; that he therefore ought to be obedient to him, and to submit to his authority, as considering, that though he had the dominion over the other tribes, yet that God had the dominion over him, and over all things. That accordingly God said to him, that because the Amalekites did the Hebrews a great deal of mischief while they were in the wilderness, and when upon their coming out of Egypt, they were making their way to that country which is now their own, I enjoin thee to punish the Amalek-

ites, by making war upon them, and when thou hast subdued them, to leave none of them alive, but to pursue them through every age, and to slay them, beginning with the women and the infants, and to require this as a punishment to be inflicted upon them for the mischief they did to our forefathers. To spare nothing, neither asses nor other beasts, nor to reserve any of them for your own advantage and possession, but to devote them universally to God, and, in obedience to the commands of Moses, to blot out the name of ¹*Amalek* entirely.”

2. So Saul promised to do what he was commanded; and supposing that his obedience to God would be shown, not only in making war against the Amalekites, but more fully in the readiness and quickness of his proceedings, he made no delay, but immediately gathered together all his forces; and when he had numbered them in Gilgal, he found them to be about four hundred thousand of the Israelites, besides the tribe of Judah; for that tribe contained by itself thirty thousand. Accordingly Saul made an irruption into the country of the Amalekites, and set many men in several parties in ambush at the river, that so he might not only do them a mischief by open fighting, but might fall upon them unexpectedly in the ways, and might thereby compass them round about, and kill them. And when he had joined battle with the enemy, he beat them, and pursuing them as they fled, he destroyed them all. And when that undertaking had succeeded,

¹ The reason of this severity is distinctly given, 1 Sam. xv. 18. “Go, and utterly destroy the sinners the Amalekites.” Nor indeed do we ever meet with these Amalekites but as very cruel and bloody people, and particularly seeking to injure and utterly to destroy the nation of Israel, Exod. xvii. 8-16, Numb. xiv. 45, Deut. xxv. 17-19, Judges vi. 3, 6, 1 Sam. xv. 33, Psalm lxxxiii. 7, and above all, the most barbarous of all cruelties, that of Haman the Agagite, or one of the posterity of Agag, the old king of the Amalekites, Esther iii. 1-16.

according as God had foretold, he set upon the cities of the Amalekites: he besieged them, and took them by force, partly by warlike machines, partly by mines dug under ground, and partly by building walls on the outsides. Some they starved out with famine, and some they gained by other methods; and after all, he betook himself to slay the women and the children, and thought he did not act therein either barbarously or inhumanly; first, because they were enemies whom he thus treated, and, in the next place, because it was done by the command of God, whom it was dangerous not to obey. He also took Agag, the enemy's king, captive; the beauty and tallness of whose body he admired so much, that he thought him worthy of preservation: Yet was not this done however according to the will of God, but by giving way to human passions, and suffering himself to be moved with an unseasonable commiseration, in a point where it was not safe for him to indulge it, for God hated the nation of the Amalekites to such a degree, that he commanded Saul to have no pity on even those infants which we by nature chiefly compassionate; but Saul preserved their king and governor from the miseries which the Hebrews brought on the people, as if he preferred the fine appearance of the enemy to the memory of what God had sent him about. The multitude were also guilty, together with Saul, for they spared the herds and the flocks, and took them for a prey, when God had commanded they should not spare them. They also carried off with them the rest of their wealth and riches, but if there were any thing that was not worthy of regard, that they destroyed.

3. But when Saul had conquered all those Amalekites, that reached from Pelusium of Egypt to the Red Sea, he laid waste all the rest of the enemy's

country: but for the nation of the Shechemites, he did not touch them, although they dwelt in the very middle of the country of Midian; for before the battle, Saul had sent to them, and charged them to depart thence, lest they should be partakers of the miseries of the Amalekites, for he had a just occasion for saving them, since they were of the kindred of Raguel, Moses' father-in-law.

4. Hereupon Saul returned home with joy, for the glorious things he had done, and for the conquest of his enemies, as though he had not neglected any thing which the prophet had enjoined him to do, when he was going to make war with the Amalekites, and as though he had exactly observed all that he ought to have done. But God was grieved that the king of the Amalekites was preserved alive, and that the multitude had seized on the cattle for a prey, because these things were done without his permission; for he thought it an intolerable thing, that they should conquer and overcome their enemies by that power which he gave them, and then that he himself should be so grossly despised and disobeyed by them, that a mere man that was a king would not bear it. He therefore told Samuel the prophet, that he repented that he had made Saul king, while he did nothing that he had commanded him, but indulged his own inclinations. When Samuel heard that, he was in confusion; and began to beseech God all that night to be reconciled to Saul, and not to be angry with him: but he did not grant that forgiveness to Saul which the prophet asked for, as not deeming it a fit thing to grant forgiveness of [such] sins at his entreaties, since injuries do not otherwise grow so great as by the easy tempers of those that are injured; for while they hunt after the glory of being thought gentle and good-natured, before they are

aware, they produce other sins. As soon therefore as God had rejected the intercession of the prophet, and it plainly appeared he would not change his mind, at break of day Samuel came to Saul to Gilgal. When the king saw him, he ran to him, and embraced him, and said, "I return thanks to God who hath given me the victory, for I have performed every thing that he hath commanded me." To which Samuel replied, "How is it then that I hear the bleating of the sheep, and the lowing of the greater cattle in the camp?" Saul made answer, That "the people had reserved them for sacrifices, but that, as to the nation of the Amalekites, it was entirely destroyed, as he had received it in command to see done, and that no one man was left, but that he had saved alive the king alone, and brought him to him, concerning whom he said they would advise together what should be done with him." But the prophet said, "God is not delighted with sacrifices, but with good and righteous men, who are such as follow his will and his laws, and never think that any thing is well done by them but when they do it as God hath commanded them: that he then looks upon himself as affronted, not when any one does not sacrifice, but when any one appears to be disobedient to him. But that from those who do not obey him, nor pay him that duty which is the alone true and acceptable worship, he will not kindly accept their oblations, be those they offer never so many and so fat, and be the presents they make him never so ornamental, nay, though they were made gold and silver themselves, but he will reject them, and esteem them instances of wickedness, and not of piety. And that he is delighted with those that still bear in mind this one thing, and this only, how to do that, whatsoever it be, which God pronounces or commands for them

to do, and to choose rather to die than to transgress any of those commands; nor does he require so much as a sacrifice from them. And when these do sacrifice, though it be a mean oblation, he better accepts of it as the honour of poverty, than such oblations as come from the richest men that offer them to him. Wherefore take notice, that thou art under the wrath of God, for thou hast despised and neglected what he commanded thee. How dost thou then suppose that he will respect a sacrifice out of such things as he hath doomed to destruction? unless perhaps thou dost imagine that it is almost all one to offer it in sacrifice to God as to destroy it. Do thou therefore expect that thy kingdom will be taken from thee, and that authority which thou hast abused by such insolent behaviour, as to neglect that God who bestowed it upon thee." Then did Saul confess, that he had acted unjustly, and did not deny that he had sinned, because he had transgressed the injunctions of the prophet; but he said, that it was out of a dread and fear of the soldiers, that he did not prohibit and restrain them when they seized on the prey. But forgive me, said he, and be merciful to me, for I will be cautious how I offend for the time to come. He also entreated the prophet to go back with him that he might offer his thank-offerings to God; but Samuel went home, because he saw that God would not be reconciled to him.

5. But then Saul was so desirous to retain Samuel, that he took hold of his cloak, and because the vehemence of Samuel's departure made the motion to be violent, the cloak was rent. Upon which the prophet said, that after the same manner should the kingdom be rent from him, and that a good and a just man should take it; that God persevered in what he had decreed about him; that to be mutable and

- changeable in what is determined, is agreeable to human passions only, but is not agreeable to the divine power. Hereupon Saul said, that he had been wicked, but that what was done could not be undone. He therefore desired him to honour him so far, that the multitude might see that he would accompany him in worshipping God. So Samuel granted him that favour, and went with him and worshipped God. Agag, also, the king of the Amalekites, was brought to him; and when the king asked, How bitter death was? Samuel said: As thou hast made many of the Hebrew mothers to lament and bewail their children, so shalt thou by thy death, cause thy mother to lament thee also. Accordingly he gave order to slay him immediately at Gilgal, and then went away to the city Ramah.

CHAPTER VIII.

How upon Saul's transgression of the prophet's commands, Samuel ordained another person to be king privately, whose name was David, as God commanded him.

1. Now Saul being sensible of the miserable condition he had brought himself into, and that he had made God to be his enemy, he went up to his royal palace at Gibeah, which name denotes an *hill*, and after that day he came no more into the presence of the prophet. And when Samuel mourned for him, God bid him leave off his concern for him, and to take the holy oil, and go to Bethlehem to Jesse, the son of Obed, and to anoint such of his sons as he should show him for their future king. But Samuel said he was afraid lest Saul, when he came to know of it

should kill him, either by some private method or even openly. But upon God's suggesting to him a safe way of going thither, he came to the forementioned city; and when they all saluted him, and asked, What was the occasion of his coming? he told them, he came to sacrifice to God. When, therefore, he had gotten the sacrifice ready, he called Jesse and his sons to partake of those sacrifices; and when he saw his eldest son to be a tall and handsome man, he guessed by his comeliness that he was the person who was to be their future king. But he was mistaken in judging about God's providence, for when Samuel inquired of God, whether he should anoint this youth, whom he so admired, and esteemed worthy of the kingdom? God said, "Men do not see as God seeth. Thou indeed hast respect to the fine appearance of this youth, and thence esteemest him worthy of the kingdom, while I propose the kingdom as a reward, not of the beauty of bodies, but of the virtue of souls, and I inquire after one that is perfectly comely in that respect. I mean one who is beautiful in piety, and righteousness, and fortitude, and obedience, for in them consists the comeliness of the soul." When God had said this, Samuel bid Jesse to show him all his sons. So he made five others of his sons to come to him; of all which Eliab was the eldest, Aminadab the second, Shammah the third, Nathaniel the fourth, Rael the fifth, and Asam the sixth. And when the prophet saw that these were no way inferior to the eldest in their countenances, he inquired of God, which of them it was whom he chose for their king? And when God said it was none of them, he asked Jesse, whether he had not some other sons besides these? and when he said that he had one more named *David*, but that he was a shepherd, and took care of the flocks, Samuel bid them call him immediately, for that till he was

once come they could not possibly sit down to the feast. Now, as soon as his father had sent for David, and he was come, he appeared to be of a yellow complexion, of a sharp sight, and a comely person in other respects also. This is he, said Samuel privately to himself, whom it pleases God to make our king. So he sat down to the feast, and placed the youth under him, and Jesse also, with his other sons; after which he took oil, in the presence of David, and anointed him, and whispered him in the ear, and acquainted him, that God chose him to be their king; and exhorted him to be righteous, and obedient to his commands, for that by this means his kingdom would continue for a long time, and that his house should be of great splendour, and celebrated in the world: that he should overthrow the Philistines; and that against what nation soever he should make war, he should be the conqueror, and survive the fight; and that while he lived he should enjoy a glorious name, and leave such a name to his posterity also.

2. So Samuel, when he had given him these admonitions, went away: But the divine power departed from Saul, and removed to David; who, upon this removal of the divine spirit to him, began to prophesy. But as for Saul, some strange and demoniacal disorders came upon him, and brought upon him such suffocations as were ready to choke him, for which the physicians could find no other remedy but this, that if any person could charm those passions by singing, and playing upon the harp, they advised them to inquire for such an one, and to observe when these demons came upon him and disturbed him, and to cause that such a person might stand over him and ¹ play on the harp,

¹ Spanheim takes notice here, that the Greeks had such *singers of hymns*, and that usually children or youth were picked out for that service; as also that those called *singers to the harp*, did the same that David did here, i. e. join their own vocal and instrumental music together.

and recite hymns to him. Accordingly Saul did not delay, but commanded them to seek out such a man. And when a certain stander-by said, that he had seen in the city of Bethlehem a son of Jesse, who was yet no more than a child in age, but comely and beautiful, and in other respects one that was deserving of great regard, who was skilful in playing on the harp, and in singing of hymns, and an excellent soldier in war, he sent to Jesse, and desired him to take David away from the flocks, and send him to him, for he had a mind to see him, as having heard an advantageous character of his comeliness, and his valour. So Jesse sent his son, and gave him presents to carry to Saul. And when he was come, Saul was pleased with him, and made him his armour-bearer, and had him in very great esteem, for he charmed his passion, and was the only physician against the trouble he had from the demons whensoever it was that it came upon him, and this by reciting of hymns, and playing upon the harp, and bringing Saul to his right mind again. However, he sent to Jesse the father of the child, and desired him to permit David to stay with him, for that he was delighted with his sight and company; which stay, that he might not contradict Saul, he granted.

CHAPTER IX.

How the Philistines made another expedition against the Hebrews, under the reign of Saul; and how they were overcome by David's slaying Goliath in a single combat.

1. Now the Philistines gathered themselves together again no very long time afterward, and having

gotten together a great army, they made war against the Israelites: and having seized a place between Shoccoh and Azekah, they there pitched their camp. Saul also drew out his army to oppose them; and by pitching his own camp on a certain hill, he forced the Philistines to leave their former camp, and to encamp themselves upon such another hill, over against that on which Saul's army lay, so that a valley, which was between the two hills on which they lay, divided their camps asunder. Now there came down a man out of the camp of the Philistines, whose name was *Goliath*, of the city Gath, a man of vast bulk, for he was of four cubits and a span in tallness, and had about him weapons suitable to the largeness of his body, for he had a breast-plate on that weighed five thousand shekels; he had also an helmet and greaves of brass as large as you would naturally suppose might cover the limbs of so vast a body. His spear was also such as was not carried like a light thing in his right hand, but he carried it as lying on his shoulders. He had also a lance of six hundred shekels: and many followed him to carry his armour. Wherefore this Goliath stood between the two armies, as they were in battle array, and sent out a loud voice, and said to Saul, and to the Hebrews, "I will free you from fighting and from dangers; for what necessity is there that your army should fall and be afflicted? Give me a man of you that will fight with me, and he that conquers shall have the reward of the conqueror, and determine the war; for these shall serve those others to whom the conqueror shall belong: And certainly it is much better, and more prudent, to gain what you desire by the hazard of one man than of all." When he had said this, he retired to his own camp; but the next day he came again, and used the same words, and did not leave off forty days together, to challenge

the enemy in the same words, till Saul and his army were therewith terrified, while they put themselves in array as if they would fight, but did not come to a close battle.

2. Now while this war between the Hebrews and the Philistines was going on, Saul sent away David to his father Jesse, and contented himself with those three sons of his whom he had sent to his assistance, and to be partners in the dangers of the war; And at first David returned to feed his sheep and his flocks; but after no long time he came to the camp of the Hebrews, as sent by his father to carry provisions to his brethren, and to know what they were doing. While Goliath came again, and challenged them, and reproached them, that they had no man of valour among them, that durst come down to fight him; and as David was talking with his brethren about the business for which his father had sent him, he heard the Philistine reproaching and abusing the army, and had indignation at it, and said to his brethren, I am ready to fight a single combat with this adversary. Whereupon Eliab, his eldest brother, reprov'd him, and said, that he spake too rashly and improperly for one of his age, and bid him go to his flocks, and to his father. So he was abashed at his brother's words, and went away, but still spake to some of the soldiers, that he was willing to fight with him that challenged them. And when they had informed Saul what was the resolution of the young man, the king sent for him to come to him: And when the king asked what he had to say, he replied, "O king, be not cast down, nor afraid, for I will depress the insolence of this adversary, and will go down and fight with him, and will bring him under me, as tall and as great as he is, till he shall be sufficiently laughed at, and thy army shall get great glory, when he shall be slain by one

that is not yet of man's estate, neither fit for fighting, nor capable of being intrusted with the marshalling an army, or ordering a battle, but by one that looks like a child, and is really no elder in age than a child."

3. Now Saul wondered at the boldness and alacrity of David, but durst not presume on his ability, by reason of his age; but said he must on that account be too weak to fight with one that was skilful in the art of war. "I undertake this enterprise," said David, "in dependence on God's being with me, for I have had experience already of his assistance; for I once pursued after and caught a lion that assaulted my flocks, and took away a lamb from them; and I snatched the lamb out of the wild beast's mouth, and when he leaped upon me with violence, I took him by the tail, and dashed him against the ground. In the same manner did I avenge myself on a bear also; and let this adversary of ours be esteemed like one of these wild beasts, since he has a long while reproached our army, and blasphemed our God, who will yet reduce him under my power."

4. However, Saul prayed that the end might be, by God's assistance, not disagreeable to the alacrity and boldness of the child; and said, "Go thy way to the fight." So he put about him his breast-plate, and girded on his sword, and fitted the helmet on his head, and sent him away. But David was burdened with his armour, for he had not been exercised to it, nor had he learned to walk with it; so he said, "Let this armour be thine, O king, who art able to bear it, but give me leave to fight as thy servant, and as I myself desire." Accordingly he laid by the armour, and taking his staff with him, and putting five stones out of the brook into a shepherd's bag, and having a sling in his right hand, he went towards Goliath. But the adversary seeing him in such a manner, disdained him,

and jested upon him, as if he had not such weapons with him as are usual when one man fights against another, but such as are used in driving away and avoiding of dogs; and said, "Dost thou take me not for a man, but a dog?" To which he replied, "No, not for a dog, but for a creature worse than a dog." This provoked Goliath to anger, who thereupon cursed him by the name of God, and threatened to give his flesh to the beasts of the earth, and to the fowls of the air, to be torn in pieces by them. To whom David answered, "Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a breast-plate, but I have God for my armour, in coming against thee, who will destroy thee and all thy army by my hands; for I will this day cut off thy head, and cast the other parts of thy body to the dogs, and all men shall learn that God is the protector of the Hebrews, and that our armour and our strength is in his Providence, and that without God's assistance, all other warlike preparations and power is useless." So the Philistine being retarded by the weight of his armour, when he attempted to meet David in haste, came on but slowly, as despising him, and depending upon it that he should slay him, who was both unarmed, and a child also, without any trouble at all.

5. But the youth met his antagonist, being accompanied with an invisible assistant, who was no other than God himself. And taking one of the stones that he had out of the brook, and had put into the shepherd's bag, and fitting it to his sling, he slang it against the Philistine. This stone fell upon his forehead, and sunk unto his brain, insomuch that Goliath was stunned and fell upon his face. So David ran, and stood upon his adversary as he lay down, and cut off his head with his own sword; for he had no sword himself. And upon the fall of Goliath, the

Philistines were beaten, and fled: for when they saw their champion prostrate on the ground, they were afraid of the entire issue of their affairs, and resolved not to stay any longer, but committed themselves to an ignominious and indecent flight, and thereby endeavoured to save themselves from the dangers they were in. But Saul and the entire army of the Hebrews, made a shout, and rushed upon them, and slew a great number of them, and pursued the rest to the borders of Gath, and to the gates of Ekron; so that there were slain of the Philistines thirty thousand, and twice as many wounded. But Saul returned to their camp, and pulled their fortification to pieces, and burnt it; but David carried the head of Goliath into his own tent, but dedicated his sword to God [at the tabernacle.]

CHAPTER X.

Saul envies David for his glorious success, and takes an occasion of entrapping him, from the promise he made him of giving him his daughter in marriage, but this upon condition of his bringing him six hundred heads of the Philistines.

1. Now the women were an occasion of Saul's envy and hatred to David; for they came to meet their victorious army with cymbals, and drums, and all demonstrations of joy, and sang thus: The wives said, That "Saul had slain his many thousands of the Philistines." The virgins replied, That "David had slain his ten thousands." Now, when the king heard them singing thus, and that he had himself the smallest share in their commendations, and that the greater

number, the ten thousands, were ascribed to the young man; and when he considered with himself, that there was nothing more wanting to David, after such a mighty applause, but the kingdom, he began to be afraid and suspicious of David. Accordingly, he removed him from the station he was in before, for he was his armour-bearer, which out of fear seemed to him much too near a station for him; and so he made him captain over a thousand, and bestowed on him a post better indeed in itself, but, as he thought, more for his own security; for he had a mind to send him against the enemy, and into battles, as hoping he would be slain in such dangerous conflicts.

2. But David had God going along with him whithersoever he went, and accordingly he greatly prospered in his undertakings, and it was visible that he had mighty success, insomuch that Saul's daughter, who was still a virgin, fell in love with him; and her affection so far prevailed over her that it could not be concealed, and her father became acquainted with it. Now Saul heard this gladly, as intending to make use of it for a snare against David, and he hoped that it would prove the cause of destruction and of hazard to him; so he told those that informed him of his daughter's affection, that he would willingly give David the virgin in marriage, and said, "I engage myself to marry my daughter to him if he will bring me ¹ six hundred heads of my enemies, supposing that when a reward so ample was proposed to him, and when he should aim to get him great glory, by under-

¹ Josephus says *thrice* in this chapter, and *twice* afterwards, ch. xi. sect. 2, and B. VII. ch. i. sect. 4, i. e. five times in all, that Saul required, not a bare *hundred of the foreskins* of the Philistines, but *six hundred of their heads*. The Septuagint have 100 foreskins, but the Syriac and Arabic 200. Now that these were not *foreskins* with our other copies, but *heads*, with Josephus' copy, seems somewhat probable, from 1 Sam. xxix. 4, where all copies say, that it was with the heads of such Philistines that David might reconcile himself to his master Saul.

taking a thing so dangerous and incredible, he would immediately set about it, and so perish by the Philistines, and my designs about him will succeed finely to my mind, for I shall be freed from him and get him slain, not by myself, but by another man." So he gave order to his servants to try how David would relish this proposal of marrying the damsel. Accordingly, they began to speak thus to him, that king Saul loved him, as well as did all the people, and that he was desirous of his affinity by the marriage of this damsel. To which he gave this answer, "Seemeth it to you a light thing to be made the king's son-in-law? It does not seem so to me, especially when I am one of a family that is low, and without any glory or honour." Now when Saul was informed by his servants what answer David had made, he said, "Tell him, that I do not want any money, nor dowry from him, which would be rather to set my daughter to sale than to give her in marriage, but I desire only such a son-in-law as hath in him fortitude, and all other kinds of virtue, of which he saw David was possessed, and that his desire was to receive of him, on account of his marrying his daughter, neither gold, nor silver, nor that he should bring such wealth out of his father's house, but only some revenge on the Philistines, and indeed six hundred of their heads, than which a more desirable, or a more glorious present could not be brought him, and that he had much rather obtain this, than any of the accustomed dowries for his daughter, viz. that she should be married to a man of that character, and to one who had a testimony as having conquered his enemies."

3. When these words of Saul were brought to David, he was pleased with them, and supposed that Saul was really desirous of this affinity with him; so that without bearing to deliberate any longer, or cast-

ing about in his mind whether what was proposed was possible, or was difficult or not, he and his companions immediately set upon the enemy, and went about doing what was proposed as the condition of the marriage. Accordingly, because it was God who made all things easy and possible to David, he slew many [of the Philistines,] and cut off the heads of six hundred of them and came to the king, and by showing him these heads of the Philistines, required that he might have his daughter in marriage. Accordingly, Saul having no way of getting off his engagements, as thinking it a base thing either to seem a liar when he promised him this marriage, or to appear to have acted treacherously by him, in putting him upon what was in a manner impossible, in order to have him slain, he gave him his daughter in marriage; her name was *Michal*.

CHAPTER XI.

How David, upon Saul's laying snares for him, did yet escape the dangers he was in by the affection and care of Jonathan, and the contrivances of his wife Michal: and how he came to Samuel the prophet.

1. HOWEVER, Saul was not disposed to persevere long in the state wherein he was, for when he saw that David was in great esteem, both with God and with the multitude, he was afraid: and being not able to conceal his fear as concerning great things, his kingdom, and his life; to be deprived of either of which was a very great calamity, he resolved to have David slain, and commanded his son Jonathan and his most faithful servants to kill him: But Jonathan wondered at his father's change with relation to David, that it

should be made to so great a degree, from showing him no small good will, to contrive how to have him killed. Now because he loved the young man, and revered him for his virtue, he informed him of the secret charge his father had given, and what his intentions were concerning him. However, he advised him to take care and be absent the next day, for that he would salute his father, and, if he met with a favourable opportunity, he would discourse with him about him, and learn the cause of his disgust, and show how little ground there was for it, and that for it he ought not to kill a man that had done so many good things to the multitude, and had been a benefactor to himself, on account of which he ought in reason to obtain pardon, had he been guilty of the greatest crimes; and I will then inform thee of my father's resolution. Accordingly David complied with such an advantageous advice, and kept himself then out of the king's sight.

2. On the next day Jonathan came to Saul as soon as he saw him in a cheerful and joyful disposition, and began to introduce a discourse about David; "What unjust action, O father, either little or great, hast thou found so exceptionable in David, as to induce thee to order us to slay a man who hath been of great advantage to thy own preservation, and of still greater to the punishment of the Philistines! A man who hath delivered the people of the Hebrews from reproach and derision, which they underwent for forty days together, when he alone had courage enough to sustain the challenge of the adversary, and after that brought as many heads of our enemies as he was appointed to bring, and had as a reward for the same, my sister in marriage; insomuch that his death would be very sorrowful to us, not only on account of his virtue, but on account of the nearness of our relation, for thy daughter must be injured at

the same time that he is slain, and must be obliged to experience widowhood, before she can come to enjoy any advantage from their mutual conversation. Consider these things, and change your mind to a more merciful temper, and to do no mischief to a man, who in the first place, hath done us the greatest kindness of preserving thee; for when an evil spirit and demons had seized upon thee, he cast them out and procured rest to thy soul from their incursions: and in the second place hath avenged us of our enemies; for it is a base thing to forget such benefits." So Saul was pacified with these words; and sware to his son that he would do David no harm, for a righteous discourse proved too hard for the king's anger and fear. So Jonathan sent for David, and brought him good news from his father, that he was to be preserved. He also brought him to his father; and David continued with the king as formerly.

3. About this time it was, that, upon the Philistines making a new expedition against the Hebrews, Saul sent David with an army to fight with them; and joining battle with them he slew many of them, and after his victory he returned to the king. But his reception by Saul was not as he expected upon such success, for he was grieved at his prosperity, because he thought he would be more dangerous to him by having acted so gloriously: but when the demoniacal spirit came upon him, and put him into disorder, and disturbed him, he called for David into his bed-chamber wherein he lay, and having a spear in his hand, he ordered him to charm him with playing on his harp, and with singing hymns; which, when David did at his command, he with great force threw the spear at him, but David was aware of it before it came, and avoided it, and fled to his own house, and abode there all that day.

4. But at night the king sent officers, and commanded that he should be watched till the morning, lest he should get quiet away, that he might come to the judgment-hall, and so might be delivered up, and condemned and slain. But when Michal, David's wife, the king's daughter, understood what her father designed, she came to her husband, as having small hopes of his deliverance, and as greatly concerned about her own life also, for she could not bear to live in case she were deprived of him; and she said, "Let not the sun find thee here when it rises, for if it do, that will be the last time it will see thee: fly away then while the night may afford thee opportunity; and may God lengthen it for thy sake; for know this, that if my father find thee, thou art a dead man." So she let him down by a cord out of the window, and saved him: And after she had so done, she fitted up a bed for him as if he were sick, and put under the bed-clothes a ¹ goat's liver; and when her father, as soon as it was day, sent to seize David, she said to those that were there, that he had not been well that night, and showed them the bed covered, and made them believe by the leaping of the liver, which caused the bed-clothes to move also, that David breathed like one that was asthmatic. So when those that were sent, told Saul that David had not been well in the night, he ordered him to be brought in that condition, for he intended to kill him. Now when they came, and uncovered the bed, and found out the woman's contrivance, they told it to the king; and when her father complained of her, that she had saved his enemy, and had put a trick

¹ Since the modern Jews have lost the signification of the Hebrew word here used *Cebir*; and since the LXXII. as well as Josephus, render it the *liver* of the goat, and since this rendering, in Josephus' account, is here so much more clear and probable than those of others, it is almost unaccountable that commentators should so much as hesitate about its true interpretation.

upon himself, she invented this plausible defence for herself, and said, "That when he threatened to kill her, she lent him her assistance for his preservation, out of fear; for which her assistance she ought to be forgiven, because it was not done of her own free choice, but out of necessity; for, said she, I do not suppose that thou wast so zealous to kill thy enemy, as thou wast that I should be saved." Accordingly Saul forgave the damsel; but David, when he had escaped this danger, came to the prophet Samuel to Ramah, and told him what snares the king had laid for him, and how he was very near to death by Saul's throwing a spear at him, although he had been no way guilty with relation to him, nor had he been cowardly in his battles with his enemies, but had succeeded well in them all, by God's assistance: which thing was indeed the cause of Saul's hatred to David.

5. When the prophet was made acquainted with the unjust proceedings of the king, he left the city Ramah, and took David with him, to a certain place called *Naioth*, and there he abode with him. But when it was told Saul that David was with the prophet, he sent soldiers to him, and ordered them to take him, and bring him to him: And when they came to Samuel, and found there a congregation of prophets, they became partakers of the divine Spirit, and began to prophesy; which when Saul heard of, he sent others to David, who prophesying in like manner as did the first, he again sent others; which third sort prophesying also, at last he was angry, and went thither in great haste himself; and when he was just by the place, Samuel, before he saw him, made him prophesy also. And when Saul came to him, he ¹ was

¹ These violent and wild agitations of Saul seem to me to have been no other than demoniacal; and that the same demon which used to seize him, since he was forsaken of God, and which the divine hymns and psalms which were sung to the harp by David, used to expel, was now

disordered in mind, and under the vehement agitation of a spirit, and ¹ putting off his garments, he fell down, and lay on the ground all that day and night, in the presence of Samuel and David.

6. And David went thence, and came to Jonathan, the son of Saul, and lamented to him what snares were laid for him by his father; and said, That "though he had been guilty of no evil, nor had offended against him, yet he was very zealous to get him killed." Hereupon Jonathan exhorted him not to give credit to his own suspicions, nor to the calumnies of those that raised those reports, if there were any that did so, but to depend on him, and take courage; for that his father had no such intention, since he would have acquainted him with that matter, and taken his advice, had it been so, as he used to consult with him in common, when he acted in other affairs. But David sware to him, that so it was; and he desired him rather to believe him, and to provide for his safety, than to despise what he, with great sincerity, told him: that he would believe what he said, when he should either see him killed himself, or learn it upon inquiry from others: and that the reason why his father did not tell him of these things, was this, that he knew of the friendship and affection that he bore towards him.

In a judicial way brought upon him, not only in order to disappoint his intentions against innocent David, but to expose him to the laughter and contempt of all that saw him, or heard of those his agitations, such violent and wild agitations being never observed in true prophets, when they were under the inspiration of the Spirit of God. Our other copies which say, *the Spirit of God* came upon him, seem not so right here as Josephus' copy, which mentions nothing of God at all. Nor does Josephus seem to ascribe this impulse and ecstasy of Saul's to any other than to his old demoniacal spirit, which on all accounts appears the most probable. Nor does the former description of Saul's real inspiration by the divine Spirit, 1 Sam. x. 9-12, Antiq. B. VI. ch. iv. sect. 2, which was before he was become wicked, well agree with the description before us.

¹ What is meant by Saul's *lying down naked all that day, and all that night*, 1 Sam. xix. 24, and whether any more than laying aside his royal apparel, or upper garments, as Josephus seems to understand it, is by no means certain. See the note on Antiq. B. VIII. ch. xiv. sect. 2.

7. Hereupon when Jonathan found that this intention of Saul's was so well attested, he asked him, "What he would have him do for him." To which David replied, "I am sensible that thou art willing to gratify me in every thing, and procure me what I desire. Now to-morrow is the new moon, and I was accustomed to sit down then with the king at supper; now if it seem good to thee, I will go out of the city, and conceal myself privately there; and if Saul inquire why I am absent, tell him that I am gone to my own city Bethlehem, to keep a festival with my own tribe; and add this also, that thou gavest me leave so to do. And if he say, as is usually said in the case of friends that are gone abroad, it is well that he went, then assure thyself that no latent mischief or enmity may be feared at his hands: but if he answer otherwise, that will be a sure sign that he hath some designs against me. Accordingly thou shalt inform me of thy father's inclinations; and that out of pity to my case, and out of thy friendship for me, as instances of which friendship thou hast vouchsafed to accept of the assurances of my love to thee, and to give the like assurances to me, that is, those of a master to his servant; but if thou discoverest any wickedness in me, do thou prevent thy father, and kill me thyself."

8. But Jonathan heard these last words with indignation, and promised to do what he desired of him, and to inform him if his father's answers implied any thing of a melancholy nature, and any enmity against him. And that he might the more firmly depend upon him, he took him out into the open field, into the pure air, and swore that he would neglect nothing that might tend to the preservation of David; and he said, "I appeal to that God, who, as thou seest, is diffused every where, and knoweth

this intention of mine, before I explain it in words, as the witness of this my covenant with thee, that I will not leave off to make frequent trials of the purpose of my father, till I learn whether there be any lurking distemper in the secretest parts of his soul; and when I have learnt it, I will not conceal it from thee, but will discover it to thee, whether it be gently or peevishly disposed; for this God himself knows, that I pray he may always be with thee, for he is with thee now, and will not forsake thee, and will make thee superior to thine enemies, whether my father be one of them, or whether I myself be such. Do thou only remember what we now do: and if it fall out that I die, preserve my children alive, and requite what kindnesses thou hast now received, to them." When he had thus sworn, he dismissed David, bidding him go to a certain place of that plain wherein he used to perform his exercises, for that as soon as he knew the mind of his father, he would come thither to him, with one servant only: and "if," says he, "I shoot three darts at the mark, and then bid my servant to carry these three darts away, for they are before him, know thou that there is no mischief to be feared from my father; but if thou hearest me say the contrary, expect the contrary from the king: However, thou shalt gain security by my means, and shalt by no means suffer any harm; but see thou dost not forget what I have desired of thee, in the time of thy prosperity, and be serviceable to my children." Now David, when he had received these assurances from Jonathan, went his way to the place appointed.

9. But on the next day, which was the new moon, the king, when he had purified himself, as the custom was, came to supper; and when there sat by him his son Jonathan on his right hand, and Abner, the captain of his host, on the other hand, he saw David's

seat was empty, but said nothing, supposing that he had not purified himself since he had accompanied with his wife, and so could not be present; but when he saw that he was not there the second day of the month neither, he inquired of his son Jonathan why the son of Jesse did not come to the supper and the feast, neither the day before nor that day. So Jonathan said, That "he was gone, according to the agreement between them, to his own city, where his tribe kept a festival, and that by his permission: that he also invited him to come to their sacrifice; and, says Jonathan, if thou wilt give me leave, I will go thither, for thou knowest the good will that I bear him." And then it was that Jonathan understood his father's hatred to David, and plainly saw his entire disposition; for Saul could not restrain his anger, but reproached Jonathan, and called him the son of a runagate, and an enemy; and said, "He was a partner with David, and his assistant, and that by his behaviour he showed he had no regard to himself, or to his mother, and would not be persuaded of this, that while David is alive, their kingdom was not secure to them; yet did he bid him send for him, that he might be punished." And when Jonathan said, in answer, What hath he done that thou wilt punish him? Saul no longer contented himself to express his anger in bare words, but snatched up his spear, and leaped upon him, and was desirous to kill him. He did not indeed do what he intended, because he was hindered by his friends, but it appeared plainly to his son that he hated David, and greatly desired to despatch him, insomuch that he had almost slain his son with his own hands on his account.

10. And then it was that the king's son rose hastily from supper; and being not able to admit any thing into his mouth for grief, he wept all night, both be-

cause he had himself been near destruction, and because the death of David was determined: But as soon as it was day, he went out into the plain that was before the city, as going to perform his exercises, but in reality to inform his friend what disposition his father was in towards him, as he had agreed with him to do. And when Jonathan had done what had been thus agreed, he dismissed his servant that followed him, to return to the city, but he himself went into the desert, and came into his presence, and communed with him. So David appeared, and fell at Jonathan's feet, and bowed down to him, and called him the preserver of his soul: But he lifted him up from the earth, and they mutually embraced one another, and made a long greeting, and that not without tears. They also lamented their age, and that familiarity which envy would deprive them of, and that separation which must now be expected, which seemed to them no better than death itself. So recollecting themselves at length from their lamentation, and exhorting one another to be mindful of the oaths they had sworn to each other, they parted asunder.

CHAPTER XII.

How David fled to Ahimelech, and afterwards to the kings of the Philistines, and of the Moabites; and how Saul slew Ahimelech and his family.

1. BUT David fled from the king, and that death he was in danger of by him, and came to the city Nob, to Ahimelech the priest, who, when he saw him coming all alone, and neither a friend nor a servant with him, he wondered at it, and desired to learn of

him the cause why there was nobody with him? To which David answered, "That the king had commanded him to do a certain thing that was to be kept secret, to which, if he had a mind to know so much, he had no occasion for any one to accompany him; however, I have ordered my servants to meet me at such and such a place." So he desired him to let him have somewhat to eat; and that in case he would supply him, he would act the part of a friend, and be assisting to the business he was now about: And when he had obtained what he desired, he also asked him whether he had any weapons with him, either sword or spear? Now there was at Nob a servant of Saul's, by birth a Syrian, whose name was Doeg, one that kept the king's mules. The high priest said, that he had no such weapons, but he added, "Here is the sword of Goliath, which, when thou hadst slain the Philistine, thou didst dedicate to God."

2. When David had received the sword, he fled out of the country of the Hebrews into that of the Philistines, over which Achish reigned: And when the king's servants knew him, and he was made known to the king himself, the servants informing him that he was that David who had killed many *ten thousands* of the Philistines, David was afraid lest the king should put him to death, and that he should experience that danger from him which he had escaped from Saul; so he pretended to be distracted and mad, so that his spittle ran out of his mouth, and he did other the like actions before the king of Gath, which might make him believe that they proceeded from such a distemper. Accordingly the king was very angry at his servants that they had brought him a madman; and he gave orders that they should eject David immediately [out of the city.]

3. So when David had escaped in this manner out

of Gath, he came to the tribe of Judah, and abode in a cave by the city of Adullam. Then it was that he sent to his brethren, and informed them where he was, who then came to him with all their kindred and as many others as were either in want, or in fear of king Saul, came and made a body together, and told him they were ready to obey his orders: They were in all about four hundred. Whereupon he took courage, now such a force and assistance was come to him: so he removed thence, and came to the king of the Moabites, and desired him to entertain his parents in his country, while the issue of his affairs were in such an uncertain condition. The king granted him this favour, and paid great respects to David's parents all the time they were with him.

4. As for himself, upon the prophet's commanding him to leave the desert, and to go into the portion of the tribe of Judah, and abide there, he complied therewith; and coming to the city Hareth, which was in that tribe, he remained there. Now when Saul heard that David had been seen with a multitude about him, he fell into no small disturbance and trouble: But as he knew that David was a bold and courageous man, he suspected that somewhat extraordinary would appear from him, and that openly also, which would make him weep, and put him into distress; so he called together to him his friends, and his commanders; and the tribe from which he was himself derived, to the hill where his palace was; and sitting upon a place called *Aroua*, his courtiers that were in dignities, and the guards of his body being with him, he spake thus to them: "You that are men of my own tribe, I conclude that you remember the benefits that I have bestowed upon you; and that I have made some of you owners of land, and made you commanders and bestowed posts of honour upon you,

and set some of you over the common people, and others over the soldiers; I ask you, therefore, whether you expect greater and more donations from the son of Jesse? For I know that you are all inclinable to him, even my own son Jonathan himself is of that opinion, and persuades you to be of the same; for I am not unacquainted with the oaths and the covenants that are between him and David, and that Jonathan is a counsellor, and an assistant to those that conspire against me, and none of you are concerned about these things, but you keep silence, and watch to see what will be the upshot of these things." When the king had done his speech, not one of the rest of those that were present made any answer, but Doeg the Syrian, who fed his mules, said, that he saw David when he came to the city Nob to Ahimelech the high priest, and that he had learned future events by his prophesying: that he received food from him, and the sword of Goliath, and was conducted by him with security to such as he desired to go to.

5. Saul therefore sent for the high priest, and for all his kindred, and said to them, "What terrible or ungrateful thing hast thou suffered from me, that thou hast received the son of Jesse, and hast bestowed on him both food and weapons, when he was contriving to get the kingdom? And farther, why didst thou deliver oracles to him concerning futurities? For thou couldst not be unacquainted that he was fled away from me, and that he hated my family." But the high priest did not betake himself to deny what he had done, but confessed boldly that he had supplied him with these things, not to gratify David but Saul himself: and he said, "I did not know that he was thy adversary, but a servant of thine, who was very faithful to thee, and a captain over a thousand of thy soldiers, and, what is more than these,

thy son-in-law, and kinsman. Men do not use to confer such favours on their adversaries, but on those who are esteemed to bear the highest good will and respect to them. Nor is this the first time that I prophesied for him, but I have done it often, and at other times, as well as now. And when he told me that he was sent by thee in great haste to do somewhat, if I had furnished him with nothing that he desired, I should have thought that it was rather in contradiction to thee than to him: Wherefore, do not thou entertain any ill opinion of me, nor do thou have a suspicion of what I then thought an act of humanity, from what is now told thee of David's attempts against thee, for I did then to him as to thy friend and son-in-law, and captain of a thousand, and not as to thine adversary."

6. When the high priest had spoken thus, he did not persuade Saul; his fear was so prevalent, that he could not give credit to an apology that was very just. So he commanded his armed men that stood about him to kill him, and all his kindred; but as they durst not touch the high priest, but were more afraid of disobeying God than the king, he ordered Doeg the Syrian to kill them. Accordingly, he took to his assistance such wicked men as were like himself, and slew Ahimelech and his family, which were in all three hundred and eighty-five. Saul also sent to ¹ Nob, the city of the priests, and slew all that

¹ This city Nob was not a city allotted to the priests, nor had the prophets, that we know of, any particular cities allotted them. It seems the tabernacle was now at Nob, and probably a school of the prophets was here also. It was full two days' journey on foot from Jerusalem, 1 Sam. xxi. 5. The number of priests here slain in Josephus is 385, and but 85 in our Hebrew copies, yet are they 305 in the Septuagint; I prefer Josephus' number, the Hebrew having, I suppose only dropped the hundreds, the other the tens. This city Nob seems to have been the chief, or perhaps the only seat of the family of Ithamar, which here perished according to God's former terrible threatenings to Eli, 1 Sam. ii. 27-36, iii. 11-18. See ch. xiv. sect. 9, hereafter.

were there, without sparing either women or children, or any other age, and burnt it; only there was one son of Ahimelech, whose name was *Abiathar*, who escaped. However, these things came to pass as God had foretold to Eli the high priest, when he said that his posterity should be destroyed, on account of the transgressions of his two sons.

7. ¹ Now this king Saul, by perpetrating so barbarous a crime, and murdering the whole family of the high priestly dignity, by having no pity of the infants, nor reverence for the aged, and by overthrowing the city which God had chosen for the property, and for the support of the priests and prophets which were there, and had ordained as the only city allotted for the education of such men, gives all to understand and consider the disposition of men, that while they are private persons, and in a low condition, because it is not in their power to indulge nature, nor to venture upon what they wish for, they are equitable and moderate, and pursue nothing but what is just, and bend their whole minds and labours that way; then it is that they have this belief about God, that he is present to all the actions of their lives, and that he does not only see the actions that are done, but clearly knows those their thoughts also, whence those actions do arise: But when once they are advanced into power and authority, then they

¹ This section contains an admirable reflection of Josephus' concerning the general wickedness of men in great authority, and the danger they are in of rejecting that regard to justice and humanity, to divine providence and the fear of God, which they either really had, or pretended to have, while they were in a lower condition. It can never be too often perused by kings and great men, nor by those who expect to obtain such elevated dignities among mankind. See the like reflections of our Josephus' *Antiq. B. VII. ch. i. sect. 5, at the end, and B. VIII. ch. x. sect. 2, at the beginning.* They are to the like purport with one branch of Augur's prayer, *One thing have I required of thee, deny me not before I die; give me not riches, lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, who is the Lord?* Prov. xxx. 7, 8, 9.

put off all such notions; and as if they were no other than actors upon a theatre, they lay aside their disguised parts, and manners, and take up boldness, insolence, and a contempt of both human and divine laws; and this at a time when they especially stand in need of piety and righteousness, because they are then most of all exposed to envy, and all they think, and all they say, are in the view of all men; then it is that they become so insolent in their actions, as though God saw them no longer, or were afraid of them because of their power: and whatsoever it is that they either are afraid of by the rumours they hear, or they hate by inclination, or they love without reason, these seem to them to be authentic, and firm, and true, and pleasing both to men and to God; but as to what will come hereafter, they have not the least regard to it. They raise those to honour indeed who have been at a great deal of pains for them, and after that honour they envy them; and when they have brought them into high dignity, they do not only deprive them of what they had obtained, but also on that very account, of their lives also, and that on wicked accusations, and such as on account of their extravagant nature, are incredible. They also punish men for their actions, not such as deserve condemnation, but from calumnies and accusations without examination; and this extends not only to such as deserve to be punished, but to as many as they are able to kill. This reflection is openly confirmed to us from the example of Saul, the son of Kish, who was the first king who reigned after our aristocracy and government under the judges were over; and that by his slaughter of three hundred priests and prophets, on occasion of his suspicion about Ahimelech, and by the additional wickedness of the overthrow of their city, and this as if he were en-

endeavouring in some sort to render the temple [tabernacle] destitute, both of priests and prophets, which endeavour he showed by slaying so many of them, and not suffering the very city belonging to them to remain, that so others might succeed them.

8. But Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech, who alone could be saved out of the family of priests slain by Saul, fled to David and informed him of the calamity that had befallen their family, and of the slaughter of his father: Who hereupon said, "He was not unapprised of what would follow with relation to them when he saw Doeg there; for he had then a suspicion that the high priest would be falsely accused by him to the king, and he blamed himself as having been the cause of this misfortune." But he desired him to stay there, and abide with him, as in a place where he might be better concealed than any where else.

CHAPTER XIII.

How David when he had twice the opportunity of killing Saul did not kill him. Also concerning the death of Samuel and Nabal.

1. ABOUT this time it was that David heard how the Philistines had made an inroad into the country of Keilah, and robbed it; so he offered himself to fight against them, if God when he should be consulted by the prophet, would grant him the victory. And when the prophet said, that God gave a signal of victory, he made a sudden onset upon the Philistines with his companions, and he shed a great deal of their blood, and carried off their prey, and stayed with the inhabitants of Keilah till they had securely

gathered in their corn and their fruits. However, it was told Saul the king, that David was with the men of Keilah; for what had been done, and the great success that had attended him, were not confined among the people where the things were done, but the fame of it went all abroad, and came to the hearing of others, and both the fact as it stood, and the author of the fact, were carried to the king's ears. Then was Saul glad when he heard that David was in Keilah; and he said, "God hath now put him into my hands, since he hath obliged him to come into a city that hath walls, and gates, and bars." So he commanded all the people to set upon Keilah suddenly, and when they had besieged and taken it, to kill David. But when David perceived this, and learned of God, that if he stayed there, the men of Keilah would deliver him up to Saul, he took his four hundred men and retired into a desert that was over a city called *Engedi*. So when the king heard that he was fled away from the men of Keilah, he left off his expedition against him.

2. Then David removed thence, and came to a certain place called the *New place*, belonging to Ziph; where Jonathan, the son of Saul, came to him, and saluted him, and exhorted him to be of good courage, and to hope well as to his condition hereafter, and not to despond at his present circumstances, for that he should be king, and have all the forces of the Hebrews under him; but told him, that such happiness uses to come with great labour and pains: they also took oaths, that they would all their lives long, continue in good will and fidelity one to another; and he called God to witness, as to what execrations he made upon himself, if he should transgress his covenant, and should change to a contrary behaviour. So Jonathan left him there, having

rendered his cares and fears somewhat lighter, and returned home. Now the men of Ziph, to gratify Saul, informed him that David abode with them, and [assured him] that if he would come to them, they would deliver him up, so that if the king could seize on the straits of Ziph, David could not escape to any other people. So the king commended them, and confessed that he had reason to thank them, because they had given him information of his enemy; and he promised them that it should not be long ere he would requite their kindness. He also sent men to seek for David, and to search the wilderness wherein he was; and he answered, that he himself would follow them. Accordingly they went before the king, to hunt for, and to catch David, and used endeavours, not only to show their good will to Saul, by informing him where his enemy was, but to evidence the same more plainly by delivering him up into his power. But these men failed of those their unjust and wicked desires, who, while they underwent no hazard by not discovering such an ambition of revealing this to Saul, yet did they falsely accuse, and promise to deliver up a man beloved of God, and one that was unjustly sought for to be put to death, and one that might otherwise have lain concealed, and this out of flattery, and expectation of gain from the king; for when David was apprised of the malignant intention of the men of Ziph, and of the approach of Saul, he left the straits of that country, and fled to the great rock that was in the wilderness of Maon.

3. Hereupon Saul made haste to pursue him thither; for as he was marching, he learned that David was gone away from the straits of Ziph, and Saul removed to the other side of the rock. But the report that the Philistines had again made an incursion

into the country of the Hebrews called Saul another way from the pursuit of David, when he was ready to be caught; for he returned back again to oppose those Philistines, who were naturally their enemies, as judging it more necessary to avenge himself of them, than to take a great deal of pains to catch an enemy of his own, and to overlook the ravage that was made in the land.

4. And by this means David unexpectedly escaped out of the danger he was in, and came to the straits of Engedi. And when Saul had driven the Philistines out of the land, there came some messengers who told him that David abode within the bounds of Engedi: So he took three thousand chosen men that were armed, and made haste to him, and when he was not far from those places, he saw a deep and hollow cave by the wayside, it was open to a great length and breadth, and there it was that David with his four hundred men were concealed. When therefore he had great occasion to ease nature, he entered into it by himself alone; and being seen by one of David's companions, and he that saw him saying to him, That "he had now by God's providence, an opportunity of avenging himself of his adversary; and advising him to cut off his head, and so deliver himself out of that tedious wandering condition, and the distress he was in," he rose up and only cut off the skirt of that garment which Saul had on. But soon he repented of what he had done; and said it was not right to kill him that was his master, and one whom God had thought worthy of the kingdom; for that although he were wickedly disposed towards us, yet does it not behove me to be so disposed towards him. But when Saul had left the cave, David came near, and cried out aloud, and desired Saul to hear him, whereupon the king turned his face back.

and David according to custom, fell down on his face before the king, and bowed to him; and said, "O king, thou oughtest not to hearken to wicked men, nor to such as forge calumnies, nor to gratify them so far as to believe what they say, nor to entertain suspicions of such as are your best friends, but to judge of the disposition of all men by their actions, for calumny deludes men, but men's own actions are a clear demonstration of their kindness. Words indeed, in their own nature, may be either true or false, but men's actions expose their intentions nakedly to our view. By these therefore, it will be well for thee to believe me, as to my regard to thee and to thy house, and not to believe those that frame such accusations against me as never came into my mind, nor are possible to be executed, and do this farther by pursuing after my life, and have no concern either day or night, but how to compass my life and to murder me, which thing I think thou dost unjustly prosecute. For how comes it about, that thou hast embraced this false opinion about me, as if I had a desire to kill thee? Or how canst thou escape the crime of impiety towards God, when thou wishest thou couldest kill, and deemest thine adversary, a man who had it in his power this day to avenge himself, and to punish thee, but would not do it? nor make use of such an opportunity, which, if it had fallen out to thee against me, thou hadst not let it slip; for when I cut off the skirt of thy garment, I could have done the same to thy head." So he showed him the piece of his garment, and thereby made him agree to what he said to be true; and added, "I, for certain, have abstained from taking a just revenge upon thee, yet art not thou ashamed to prosecute me with unjust hatred. May God do justice, and determine about each of our

dispositions." But Saul was amazed at the strange delivery he had received; and being greatly affected with the moderation and disposition of the young man, he groaned: and when David had done the same, the king answered, That "he had the justest occasion to groan, for thou hast been the author of good to me, as I have been the author of calamity to thee. And thou hast demonstrated this day, that thou possessest the righteousness of the ancients, who determined that men ought to save their enemies though they caught them in a desert place. I am now persuaded that God reserves the kingdom for thee, and that thou wilt obtain the dominion over all the Hebrews. Give me then assurances upon oath, that thou wilt not root out my family, nor out of remembrance of what evil I have done thee, destroy my posterity, but save and preserve my house." So David swore as he desired, and sent back Saul to his own kingdom; but he, and those that were with him, went up to the straits of Mastheroth.

5. About this time Samuel the prophet died. He was a man whom the Hebrews honoured in an extraordinary degree; for that lamentation which the people made for him, and this, during a long time, manifested his virtue, and the affection which the people bore for him; as also did the solemnity and concern that appeared about his funeral, and about the complete observation of all his funeral rites. They buried him in his own city Ramah; and wept for him a very great number of days, not looking on it as a sorrow for the death of another man, but as that in which they were every one themselves concerned. He was a righteous man, and gentle in his nature, and, on that account he was very dear to God. Now he governed and presided over the people alone, after the death of Eli the high priest, twelve

years, and eighteen years together with Saul the king: And thus we have finished the history of Samuel.

6. There was a man that was a Ziphite, of the city of Maon, who was rich, and had a vast number of cattle: for he fed a flock of three thousand sheep, and another flock of a thousand goats. Now David had charged his associates to keep these flocks without hurt and without damage, and to do them no mischief, neither out of covetousness, nor because they were in want, nor because they were in the wilderness, and so could not easily be discovered; but to esteem freedom from injustice above other motives, and to look upon the touching of what belonged to another man as an horrible crime, and contrary to the will of God. These were the instructions he gave, thinking that the favours he granted this man were granted to a good man, and one that deserved to have such care taken of his affairs. This man was Nabal, for that was his name, a harsh man, and of a very wicked life, being like a cynic in the course of his behaviour, but still had obtained for his wife a woman of a good character, wise and handsome. To this Nabal, therefore, David sent ten men of his attendants at the time when he sheared his sheep, and by them saluted him: and also wished he might do what he now did for many years to come, but desired him to make him a present of what he was able to give him, since he had, to be sure, learned from his shepherds, that he had done them no injury, but had been their guardians a long time together, while we continued in the wilderness; and he assured him he should never repent of giving any thing to David. When the messengers had carried this message to Nabal, he accosted them after an inhuman and rough manner; for he asked them, who David was? and when he heard that he was the

son of Jesse, "Now is the time," said he, "that fugitives grow insolent, and make a figure, and leave their masters." When they told David this, he was wroth; and commanded four hundred armed men to follow him; and left two hundred to take care of the stuff, (for he had already ¹ six hundred), and went against Nabal: he also swore, that he would that night utterly destroy the whole house and possessions of Nabal: for that he was grieved, not only that he had proved ungrateful to them, without making any return for the humanity they had showed him, but that he had also reproached them, and used ill language to them, when he had received no cause of disgust from them.

7. Hereupon one of those that kept the flocks of Nabal, said to his mistress, Nabal's wife, That "when David sent to her husband he had received no civil answer at all from him, but that her husband had moreover added very reproachful language, while yet David had taken extraordinary care to keep his flocks from harm, and that what had passed would prove very pernicious to his master." When the servant had said this, Abigail, for that was the wife's name, saddled her asses, and loaded them with all sorts of presents: and without telling her husband any thing of what she was about (for he was not sensible on account of his drunkenness) she went to David. She was then met by David as she was descending an hill, who was coming against Nabal with four hundred men. When the woman saw David, she leaped down from her ass, and fell on

¹ The number of men that came first to David, are distinctly in Josephus, and in our common copies, but 400. When he was at Keilah, still but 400, both in Josephus and in the LXXII. but 600 in our Hebrew copies, 1 Sam. xxii. 13, sect. xxx. 9, 10. Now the 600 there mentioned are here intimated by Josephus to have been so many, only by an augmentation of 200 afterward, which, I suppose, is the true solution of this seeming disagreement.

her face, and bowed down to the ground; and entreated him not to bear in mind the words of Nabal, since he knew that he resembled his name; now Nabal, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies *folly*. So she made her apology, "That she did not see the messengers whom he sent: Forgive me, therefore, said she, and thank God who hath hindered thee from shedding human blood; for so long as thou keepest thyself innocent, he will avenge thee of wicked men, for what miseries await Nabal, they will fall upon the heads of thine enemies. Be thou gracious to me, and think me so far worthy as to accept these presents from me; and out of regard to me, remit that wrath and that anger which thou hast against my husband and his house, for mildness and humanity become thee, especially as thou art to be our king." Accordingly, David accepted her presents, and said, "Nay, but O woman, it was no other than God's mercy which brought thee to us to-day, for otherwise thou hadst not seen another day, I having ² sworn to destroy Nabal's house this very night, and to leave alive not one of you who belonged to a man that was wicked and ungrateful to me, and my companions; but now hast thou prevented me, and mollified my anger, as being thyself under the care of God's provi-

¹ In this, and the two next sections, we may perceive how Josephus, nay, how Abigail herself would understand, the *not avenging ourselves, but heaping coals of fire on the head of the injurious*, Prov. xxv. 15, Rom. xii. 20, not as we commonly do now, of melting them into kindness, but of leaving them to the judgment of God *to whom vengeance belongeth*, Deut. xxxii. 35, Psalm. xciv. 1, Heb. x. 30, and who will take vengeance on the wicked. And since all God's judgments are just, and all fit to be executed, and all at length for good of the persons punished, I incline to think that to be the meaning of this phrase of *heaping coals of fire on their heads*.

² We may note here, that how sacred soever an oath was esteemed among the people of God in old times, they did not think it obligatory where the action was plainly unlawful. For so we see it was in this of David, who, although he had sworn to destroy Nabal and his family, yet does he here, and 1 Sam. xxv. 32, 33, 34, bless God for preventing his keeping this oath, and from shedding of blood, as he had sworn to do.

dence; but as for Nabal, although for thy sake he now escape punishment, he will not always avoid justice, for his evil conduct on some other occasion will be his ruin."

8. When David had said this, he dismissed the woman. But when she came home and found her husband feasting with a great company, and oppressed with wine, she said nothing to him then about what had happened; but on the next day when he was sober, she told him all the particulars, and made his whole body to appear like that of a dead man by her words, and by that grief which arose from them, so Nabal survived ten days, and no more, and then died. And when David heard of his death, he said, that "God had justly avenged him of that man, for that Nabal died by his own wickedness, and had suffered punishment on his account, while he had kept his own hands clean." At which time he understood, that the wicked are prosecuted by God; that he does not overlook any man, but bestows on the good what is suitable to them, and inflicts a deserved punishment on the wicked. So he sent to Nabal's wife, and invited her to come to him, to live with him, and to be his wife. Whereupon she replied to those that came, that she was not worthy to touch his feet; however, she came with all her servants, and became his wife; having received that honour on account of her wise and righteous course of life. She also obtained the same honour, partly on account of her beauty. Now David had a wife before, which he married from the city Abesar; for as to Michal, the daughter of king Saul, who had been David's wife, her father had given her in marriage to Phalti the son of Laish, who was of the city Gallim.

9. After this came certain of the Ziphites, and told Saul, that David was come again into their

country; and if he would afford them his assistance, they could catch him. So he came to them with three thousand armed men; and upon the approach of the night, he pitched his camp at a certain place called *Hachilah*. But when David heard that Saul was coming against him, he sent spies, and bid them let him know to what place of the country Saul was already come; and when they told him that he was at *Hachilah*, he concealed his going away from his own companions, and came to Saul's camp, having taken with him *Abishai*, his sister *Zeruiah's* son, and *Ahimelech* the *Hittite*. Now Saul was asleep; and the armed men, with *Abner* their commander, lay round about him in a circle. Hereupon David entered into the king's tent; but he did neither kill Saul, though he knew where he lay, by the spear that was struck down by him, nor did he give leave to *Abishai*, who would have killed him, and was earnestly bent upon it so to do: For he said, "It was a horrid crime to kill one that was ordained king by God, although he was a wicked man: for that he who gave him the dominion, would in time inflict punishment upon him." So he restrained his eagerness: but that it might appear to have been in his power to have killed him when he refrained from it, he took his spear and the cruise of water which stood by Saul as he lay asleep, without being perceived by any of the camp, who were all asleep, and went securely away, having performed every thing among the king's attendants that the opportunity afforded, and his boldness encouraged him to do. So when he had passed over a brook, and was gotten up to the top of an hill, whence he might be sufficiently heard, he cried aloud to Saul's soldiers, and to *Abner* their commander, and awakened them out of their sleep, and called both to him and to the people. Hereupon the commander

heard him and asked who it was that called him? To whom David replied, "It is I, the son of Jesse, whom you make a vagabond. But what is the matter? Dost thou that art a man of so great dignity, and of the first rank in the king's court, take so little care of thy master's body? and is a sleep of more consequence to thee than his preservation, and thy care of him? This negligence of yours deserves death, and punishment to be inflicted on you, who never perceived when a little while ago some of us entered into your camp, nay as far as to the king himself, and all the rest of you. If thou look the king's spear, and his cruise of water, thou wilt learn what a mighty misfortune was ready to overtake you in your very camp without your knowing of it." Now, when Saul knew David's voice, and understood, that when he had him in his power while he was asleep, and his guards took no care of him, yet did not he kill him, but spared him when he might justly have cut him off, he said, That "he owed him thanks for his preservation; and exhorted him to be of good courage, not to be afraid of suffering any mischief from him any more, and to return to his own home, for he was now persuaded that he did not love himself so well as he was beloved by him: that he had driven away him that could guard him, and had given many demonstrations of his good will to him: that he had forced him to live so long in a state of banishment, and in great fears of his life, destitute of his friends and his kindred, while still he was often saved by him, and frequently received his life again when it was evidently in danger of perishing." So David bid them send for the spear and the cruise of water, and take them back; adding this withal, That "God would be the judge of both their dispositions, and of the actions, that flowed from

the same, who knows that when it was this day in my power to have killed thee I abstained from it.”

10. Thus Saul having escaped the hands of David twice, he went his way to his royal palace, and his own city: But David was afraid, that if he stayed there he should be caught by Saul, so he thought it better to go up into the land of the Philistines and abide there. Accordingly, he came with the six hundred men that were with him to Achish, the king of Gath, which was one of their five cities. Now the king received both him and his men, and gave them a place to inhabit in. He had with him also his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail, and he dwelt in Gath. But when Saul heard this he took no farther care about sending to him, or going after him, because he had been twice, in a manner, caught by him, while he was himself endeavouring to catch him. However, David had no mind to continue in the city of Gath, but desired the king, that since he had received him with such humanity, that he would grant him another favour, and bestow upon him some place of that country for his habitation; for he was ashamed, by living in the city to be grievous and burdensome to him. So Achish gave him a certain village called *Ziklag*; which place David and his sons were fond of when he was king, and reckoned it to be their peculiar inheritance. But about those matters we shall give the reader farther information elsewhere. Now the time that David dwelt in *Ziklag*, in the land of the Philistines, was four months and twenty days. And now he privately attacked those Geshurites and Amalekites that were neighbours to the Philistines, and laid waste their country, and took much prey of their beasts and camels, and then returned home; but David abstained from the men, as fearing they should discover him to king Achish,

yet did he send part of the prey to him as a free gift. And when the king inquired whom they had attacked when they brought away the prey, he said, those that lay on the south of the Jews, and inhabited in the plain; whereby he persuaded Achish to approve of what he had done, for he hoped that David had fought against his own nation, and that now he should have him for his servant all his life long, and that he would stay in his country.

CHAPTER XIV.

How Saul, upon God's not answering him concerning the fight with the Philistines, desired a necromantic woman to raise up the soul of Samuel to him; and how he died with his sons upon the overthrow of the Hebrews in battle.

1. ABOUT the same time the Philistines resolved to make war against the Israelites, and sent to all their confederates that they would go along with them to the war to Reggen, [near the city Shunem,] whence they might gather themselves together and suddenly attack the Hebrews. Then did Achish, the king of Gath, desire David to assist them with his armed men against the Hebrews. This he readily promised; and said that the time was now come wherein he might requite him for his kindness and hospitality: So the king promised to make him the keeper of his body after the victory, supposing that the battle with the enemy succeeded to their mind; which promise of honour and confidence he made on purpose to increase his zeal for his service.

2. Now Saul, the king of the Hebrews, had cast

out of the country the fortune-tellers, and the necromancers, and all such as exercised the like arts, excepting the prophets. But when he heard that the Philistines were already come, and had pitched their camp near to the city Shunem, situate in the plain, he made haste to oppose them with his forces; and when he was come to a certain mountain called Gilboa, he pitched his camp over against the enemy; but when he saw the enemy's army he was greatly troubled, because it appeared to him to be numerous, and superior to his own; and he inquired of God by the prophets concerning the battle, that he might know beforehand what would be the event of it. And when God did not answer him, Saul was under a still greater dread, and his courage fell, foreseeing, as was but reasonable to suppose, that mischief would befall him, now God was not there to assist him; yet did he bid his servants to inquire out for him some woman that was a necromancer and called up the souls of the dead, that so he might know whether his affairs would succeed to his mind; for this sort of necromantic women who bring up the souls of the dead, do by them foretell future events to such as desire them. And one of his servants told him, that there was such a woman in the city Endor, but was known to nobody in the camp; hereupon Saul put off his royal apparel, and took two of those his servants with him, whom he knew to be most faithful to him, and came to Endor to the woman, and entreated her to act the part of a fortune-teller, and to bring up such a soul to him as he should name to her. But when the woman opposed his motion, and said, "She did not despise the king, who had banished this sort of fortune-tellers, and that he did not do well himself, when she had done him no harm, to endeavour to lay a snare for her, and to discover

that she exercised a forbidden art, in order to procure her to be punished." He swore that nobody should know what she did; and that he would not tell any one else what she foretold, but that she would incur no danger. As soon as he had induced her by this oath to fear no harm, he bid her bring up to him the soul of Samuel. She not knowing who Samuel was, called him out of Hades. When he appeared, and the woman saw one that was venerable, and of a divine form, she was in disorder; and being astonished at the sight, she said, "Art not thou king Saul?" for Samuel had informed her who he was. When he had owned that to be true, and had asked her whence her disorder arose? she said, that "she saw a certain person ascend, who in his form was like to a god." And when he bid her tell him what he resembled, in what habit he appeared, and of what age he was? she told him, "He was an old man already, and of a glorious personage, and had a sacerdotal mantle." So the king discovered by these signs that he was Samuel; and he fell down upon the ground, and saluted, and worshipped him. And when the soul of Samuel asked him, why he had disturbed him, and caused him to be brought up? he lamented the necessity he was under; for he said, That his "enemies pressed heavily upon him: that he was in distress what to do in his present circumstances; that he was forsaken of God, and could obtain no prediction of what was coming, neither by prophets, nor by dreams; and that these were the reasons why I have recourse to thee, who always tookst care of me." But ¹ Samuel seeing that the

¹ This history of Saul's consultation, not with a *witch*, as we render the Hebrew word here, but with a *necromancer*, as the whole history shows, is easily understood, especially if we consult the recognitions of Clement, B. I. ch. v. at large, and more briefly, and nearer the days of Samuel, Eccles. xvi. 20. "Samuel prophesied after his death, and showed

end of Saul's life was come, said, "It is vain for thee to desire to learn of me any thing farther, when God hath forsaken thee: however, hear what I say, that David is to be king, and to finish this war with good success; and thou art to lose thy dominion and thy life, because thou didst not obey God in the war with the Amalekites, and hast not kept his commandments, as I foretold thee while I was alive. Know, therefore, that the people shall be made subject to their enemies, and that thou, with thy sons, shall fall in the battle to-morrow, and thou shalt then be with me [in Hades]."

3. When Saul had heard this, he could not speak for grief, and fell down on the floor, whether it were from the sorrow that arose upon what Samuel had said, or from his emptiness, for he had taken no food the foregoing day or night, he easily fell quite down: And when with difficulty he had recovered himself, the woman would force him to eat, begging this of him as a favour on account of her concern in that dangerous instance of fortune-telling, which it was not lawful for her to have done, because of the fear she was under of the king, while she knew not who he was, yet did she undertake it, and go through with it, on which account she entreated him to admit that a table and food might be set before him, that he might recover his strength, and so get safe to his own camp. And when he opposed her motion, and entirely rejected it, by reason of his anxiety, she forced him, and at last persuaded him to it. Now she had one calf that she was very fond of, and one that she took

the king his end, and lift up his voice from the earth in prophecy," to blot out "the wickedness of the people." Nor does the exactness of the accomplishment of this prediction, the very next day, permit us to suppose any imposition upon Saul in the present history; for as to all modern hypothesis against the natural sense of such ancient and authentic histories, I take them to be of very small value or consideration.

a great deal of care of, and fed it herself, for she was a woman that got her living by the labour of her own hands, and had no other possession but that one calf; this she killed, and made ready its flesh, and set it before his servants and himself. So Saul came to the camp while it was yet night.

4. Now it is but just to ¹ recommend the generosity of this woman, because when the king had forbidden her to use that art whence her circumstances were bettered and improved, and when she had never seen the king before, she still did not remember to his disadvantage that he had condemned her sort of learning, and did not refuse him as a stranger, and one that she had no acquaintance with; but she had compassion upon him, and comforted him, and exhorted him to do what he was greatly averse to, and offered him the only creature she had, as a poor woman, and that earnestly, and with great humanity while she had no requital made to her for her kindness nor hunted after any future favour from him, for she knew he was to die; whereas men are naturally either ambitious to please those that bestow benefit upon them, or are very ready to serve those from whom they may receive some advantage. It would be well therefore to imitate the example of this woman and to do kindnesses to all such as are in want; and to think that nothing is better, nor more becoming mankind, than such a general beneficence, nor what will sooner render God favourable, and ready to bestow good things upon us. And so far may suffice to have spoken concerning this woman. But I shall

¹ These great commendations of this necromantic woman of Endor and of Saul's martial courage, when yet he knew he should die in the battle, are somewhat unusual digressions in Josephus. They seem to be extracted from some speeches or declamations of his, composed formerly in the way of oratory, that lay by him, and which he thought fit to insert upon this occasion. See before on Antiq. B. II. ch. vi. sect. 8.

to speak farther upon another subject, which will afford me an opportunity of discoursing on what is for the advantage of cities, and people, and nations, and suited to the taste of good men, and will encourage them all in the prosecution of virtue, and is capable of showing them the method of acquiring glory, and an everlasting fame; and of imprinting in the kings of nations, and the rulers of cities, great inclination and diligence of doing well; as also of encouraging them to undergo dangers, and to die for their countries, and of instructing them how to despise all the most terrible adversities; and I have a fair occasion offered me to enter on such a discourse, by Saul king of the Hebrews: for although he knew what was coming upon him, and that he was to die immediately, by the prediction of the prophet, he did not resolve to fly from death, nor so far to indulge the love of life, as to betray his own people to the enemy, or to bring a disgrace on his royal dignity, but exposing himself, as well as all his family and children to dangers, he thought it a brave thing to fall together with them, as he was fighting for his subjects, and that it was better his sons should die thus, showing their courage, than to leave them to their uncertain conduct afterward, while instead of succession and posterity, they gained commendation and a lasting name. Such an one alone seems to me to be just, a courageous, and a prudent man; and when any one has arrived at these dispositions, or shall hereafter arrive at them, he is the man that ought to be by all honoured with the testimony of a virtuous or courageous man; for as to those that go out to war with hopes of success, and that they shall return safe, supposing they have performed some glorious action, I think those do not do well who call these valiant men, as so many historians, and

other writers who treat of them are wont to do, although I confess those do justly deserve some commendation also, but those only may be styled courageous and bold in great undertakings, and despisers of adversities, who imitate Saul; for as for those that do not know what the event of war will be as to themselves, and though they do not faint in it, but deliver themselves up to uncertain futurity, and are tossed this way and that way, this is not so very eminent an instance of a generous mind, although they happen to perform many great exploits; but when men's minds expect no good event, but they know beforehand they must die, and that they must undergo that death in the battle also, after this neither to be affrighted, nor to be astonished at the terrible fate that is coming, but to go directly upon it, when they know it beforehand, this it is what I esteem the character of a man truly courageous. Accordingly this Saul did, and thereby demonstrated that all men who desire fame after they are dead, are so to act as they may obtain the same: This especially concerns kings, who ought not to think it enough in their high station that they are not wicked in the government of their subjects, but to be no more than moderately good to them. I could say more than this about Saul, and his courage, the subject affording matter sufficient, but that I may not appear to run out improperly in his commendation, I return again to that history from which I made this digression.

5. Now when the Philistines, as I said before, had pitched their camp, and had taken an account of their forces, according to their nations, and kingdoms, and governments, king Achish came last of all with his own army; after whom came David with his six hundred armed men. And when the commanders of the Philistines saw him, they asked the

king, whence these Hebrews came, and at whose invitation. He answered, That "it was David, who was fled away from his master Saul, and that he had entertained him when he came to him, and that now he was willing to make him his requital for his favours, and to avenge himself upon Saul, and so was become his confederate." The commanders complained of this, that he had taken him for a confederate who was an enemy; and gave him counsel to send him away, lest he should unawares do his friends a great deal of mischief, by entertaining him, for that he afforded him an opportunity of being reconciled to his master by doing mischief to our army. They thereupon desired him out of a prudent foresight of this, to send him away, with his six hundred armed men, to the place he had given him for his habitation; that this was that David whom the virgins celebrated in their hymns, as having destroyed many ten thousands of the Philistines. When the king of Gath heard this, he thought they spake well; so he called David, and said to him, "As for myself I can bear witness that thou hast shown great diligence and kindness about me, and on that account it was that I took thee for my confederate; however, what I have done does not please the commanders of the Philistines; go therefore within a day's time to the place I have given thee, without suspecting any harm, and there keep my country, lest any of our enemies should make an incursion upon it, which will be one part of that assistance which I expect from thee." So David came to Ziklag, as the king of Gath bid him; but it happened, that while he was gone to the assistance of the Philistines, the Amalekites had made an incursion; and taken Ziklag before, and had burnt it: and when they had taken a great deal of other prey out of

that place, and out of the other parts of the Philistines' country, they departed.

6. Now when David found that Ziklag was laid waste, and that it was all spoiled, and that as well his own wives, which were two, as the wives of his companions, with their children, were made captives, he presently rent his clothes, weeping and lamenting, together with his friends; and indeed he was so cast down with these misfortunes, that at length tears themselves failed him. He was also in danger of being stoned to death by his companions, who were greatly afflicted at the captivity of their wives and children, for they laid the blame upon him of what had happened. But when he had recovered himself out of his grief, and had raised up his mind to God, he desired the high priest Abiathar to put on his sacerdotal garments, and to inquire of God, and to prophesy to him, "Whether God would grant, that if he pursued after the Amalekites, he should overtake them, and save their wives and their children and avenge himself on the enemies." And when the high priest bid him pursue after them, he marched apace, with his six hundred men, after the enemy, and when he was come to a certain brook called *Besor*, and had light upon one that was wandering about an Egyptian by birth, who was almost dead with want and famine (for he had continued wandering about without food in the wilderness three days), he first of all gave him sustenance, both meat and drink, and thereby refreshed him. He then asked him to whom he belonged, and whence he came? Whereupon the man told him he was an Egyptian by birth, and was left behind by his master, because he was so sick and weak, that he could not follow him. He also informed him, that he was one of those that had burnt and plundered, not only other

parts of Judea, but Ziklag itself also. So David made use of him as a guide to find out the Amalekites; and when he had overtaken them, as they lay scattered about on the ground, some at dinner, some disordered, and entirely drunk with wine, and in the fruition of their spoils and their prey, he fell upon them on the sudden, and made a great slaughter among them, for they were naked, and expected no such thing, but had betaken themselves to drinking and feasting, and so they were all easily destroyed. Now some of them that were overtaken as they lay at the table, were slain in that posture, and their blood brought up with their meat and their drink. They slew others of them as they were drinking to one another in their cups, and some of them when their full bellies had made them fall asleep; and for so many as had time to put on all their armour, they slew them with the sword with no less ease than they did those that were naked; and for the partisans of David, they continued also the slaughter from the first hour of the day to the evening, so that there were not above four hundred of the Amalekites left, and they only escaped by getting upon their dromedaries and camels. Accordingly David recovered, not only all the other spoils which the enemy had carried away, but his wives also, and the wives of his companions. But when they were come to the place where they had left the two hundred men, which were not able to follow them, but were left to take care of the stuff, the four hundred men did not think it to divide among them any other parts of what they had gotten, or of the prey, since they did not accompany them, but pretended to be feeble, and did not follow them in the pursuit of the enemy, but said, they should be contented to have safely recovered their wives; yet did David pronounce, that

this opinion of theirs was evil and unjust, and that when God had granted them such a favour, that they had avenged themselves on their enemies, and had recovered all that belonged to themselves, they should make an equal distribution of what they had gotten to all, because the rest had tarried behind to guard their stuff; and from that time this law obtained among them, that those who guarded the stuff, should receive an equal share with those that fought in the battle. Now when David was come to Ziklag, he sent portions of the spoils to all that had been familiar with him, and to his friends in the tribe of Judah. And thus ended the affairs of the plundering of Ziklag, and of the slaughter of the Amalekites.

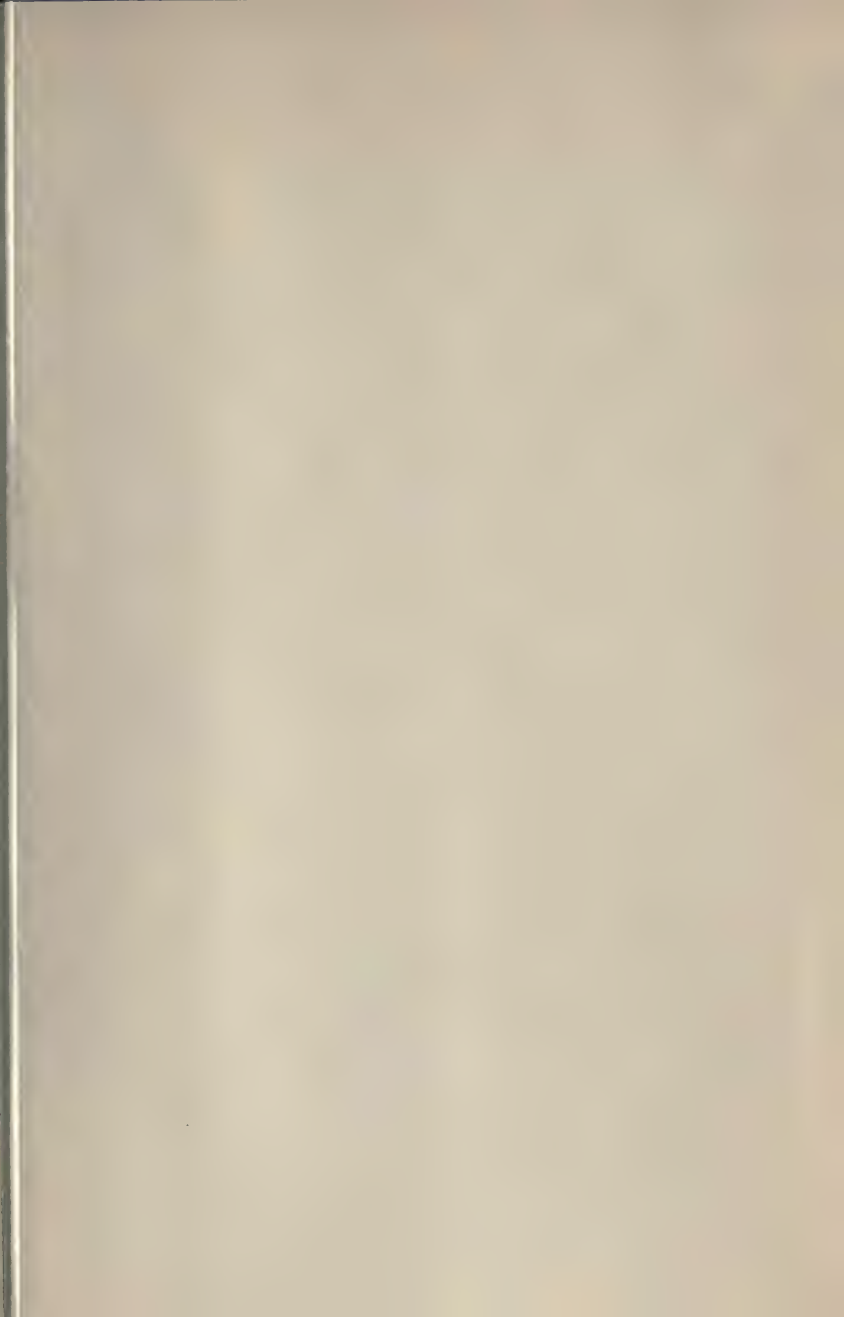
7. Now upon the Philistines joining battle, there followed a sharp engagement, and the Philistines became the conquerors, and slew a great number of their enemies; but Saul the king of Israel, and his sons, courageously, and with the utmost alacrity, as knowing that their entire glory lay in nothing else but dying honourably, and exposing themselves to the utmost danger from the enemy, (for they had nothing else to hope for,) so they brought upon themselves the whole power of the enemy, till they were encompassed round, and slain, but not before they had killed many of the Philistines. Now the sons of Saul were Jonathan, and Abinadab, and Melchisua; and when these were slain, the multitude of the Hebrews were put to flight, and all was disorder and confusion, and slaughter, upon the Philistines pressing in upon them. But Saul himself having fled, having a strong body of soldiers about him; and upon the Philistines sending after them those that threw javelins and shot arrows, he lost all his company except a few; as for himself, he fought with great bravery, and when he had re-

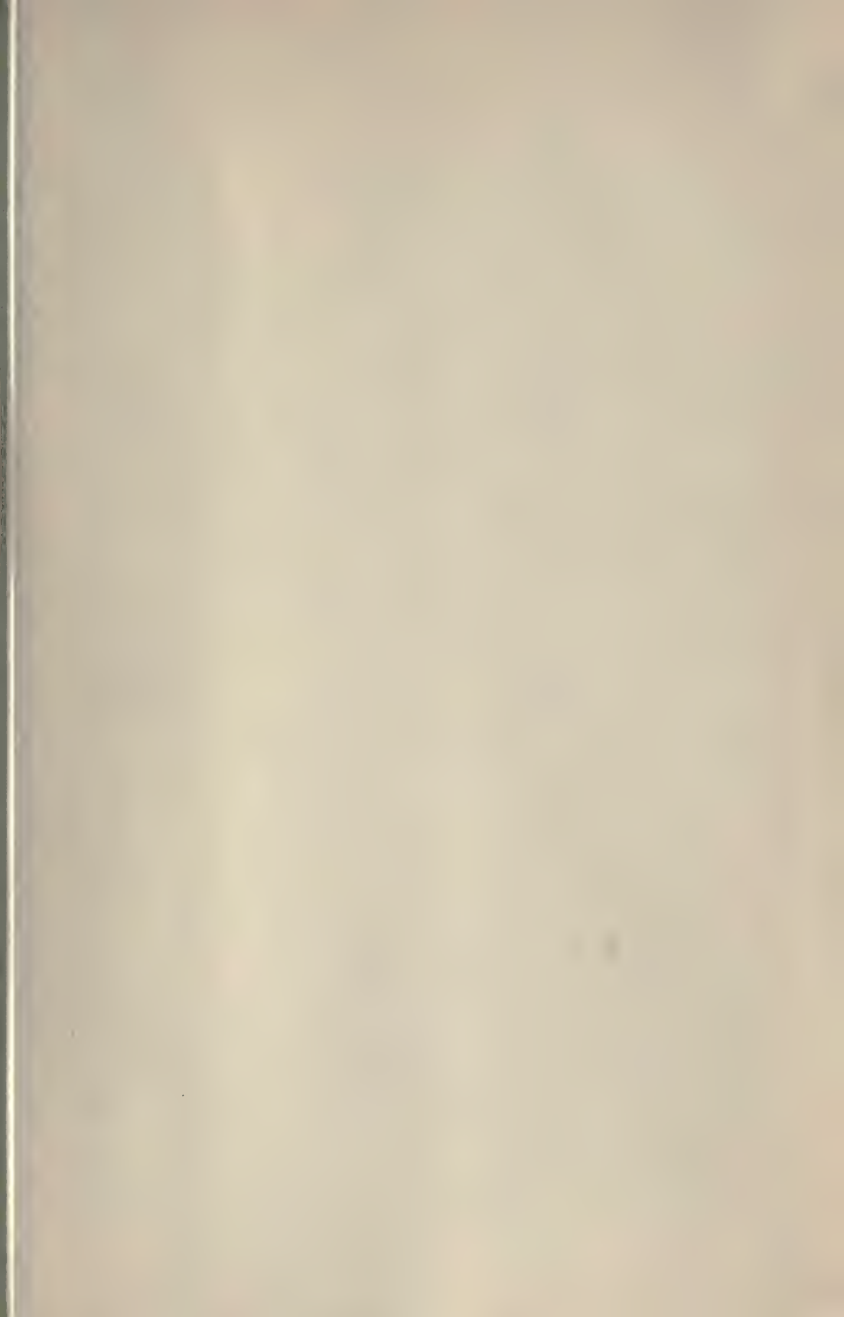
ceived so many wounds, that he was not able to bear up, nor to oppose any longer, and yet was not able to kill himself, he bid his armour-bearer draw his sword, and run him through, before the enemy should take him alive. But his armour-bearer not daring to kill his master, he drew his own sword, and placing himself over against its point, he threw himself upon it, and when he could neither run it through him, nor by leaning against it, make the sword pass through him, he turned him round, and asked a certain young man that stood by, who he was? and when he understood that he was an Amalekite, he desired him to force the sword through him, because he was not able to do it with his own hands, and thereby to procure him such a death as he desired. This the young man did accordingly; and he took the golden bracelet that was on Saul's arm, and his royal crown that was on his head, and ran away. And when Saul's armour-bearer saw that he was slain, he killed himself; nor did any of the king's guards escape, but they all fell upon the mountain called *Gilboa*. But when those Hebrews that dwelt in the valley beyond Jordan, and those who had their cities in the plain, heard that Saul and his sons were fallen, and that the multitude about them were destroyed, they left their own cities, and fled to such as were the best fortified and fenced; and the Philistines finding those cities deserted, came and dwelt in them.

8. On the next day, when the Philistines came to strip their enemies that were slain, they got the bodies of Saul, and of his sons, and stripped them and cut off their heads; and they sent messengers all about their country, to acquaint them that their enemies were fallen: and they dedicated their armour in the temple of Astarte, but hung their bodies on crosses at the walls of the city Bethshan, which is

now called *Scythopolis*. But when the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead heard that they had dismembered the dead bodies of Saul, and of his sons, they deemed it so horrid a thing to overlook this barbarity, and to suffer them to be without funeral rites, that the most courageous and hardy among them, (and indeed that city had in it men that were very stout both in mind and body,) journeyed all night, and came to Bethshan, and approached to the enemy's wall, and taking down the bodies of Saul, and of his sons, they carried them to Jabesh, while the enemy were not able enough, nor bold enough to hinder them, because of their great courage: So the people of Jabesh wept all in general, and buried their bodies in the best place of their country, which was named *Aroura*; and they observed a public mourning for them seven days, with their wives and children, beating their breasts and lamenting the king and his sons, without either tasting meat or drink [till the evening.]

9. To this his end did Saul come, according to the prophecy of Samuel, because he disobeyed the commands of God about the Amalekites, and on the account of his destroying the family of Ahimelech the high priest, with Ahimelech himself, and the city of the high priests. Now Saul, when he had reigned eighteen years, while Samuel was alive, and after his death two [and twenty,] ended his life in this manner.

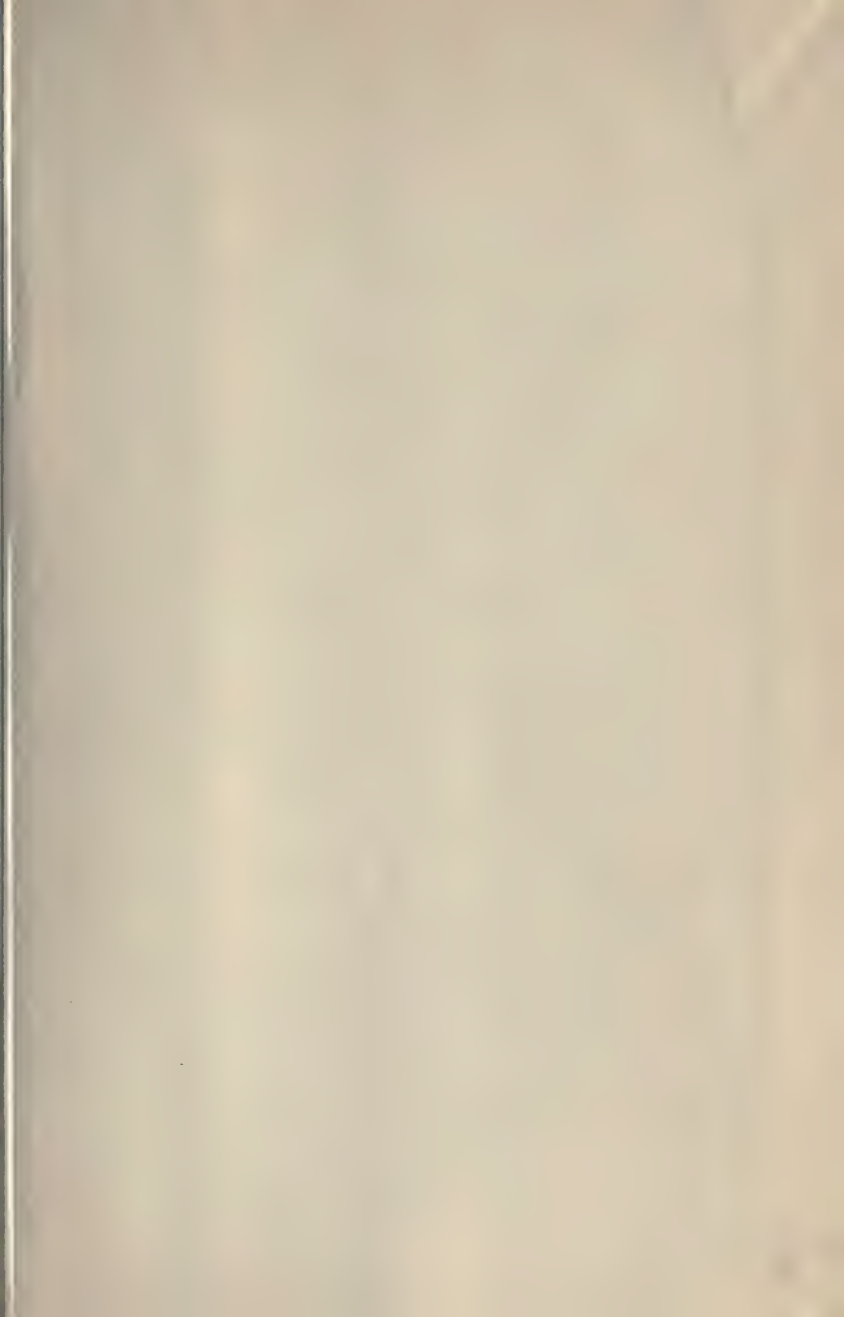


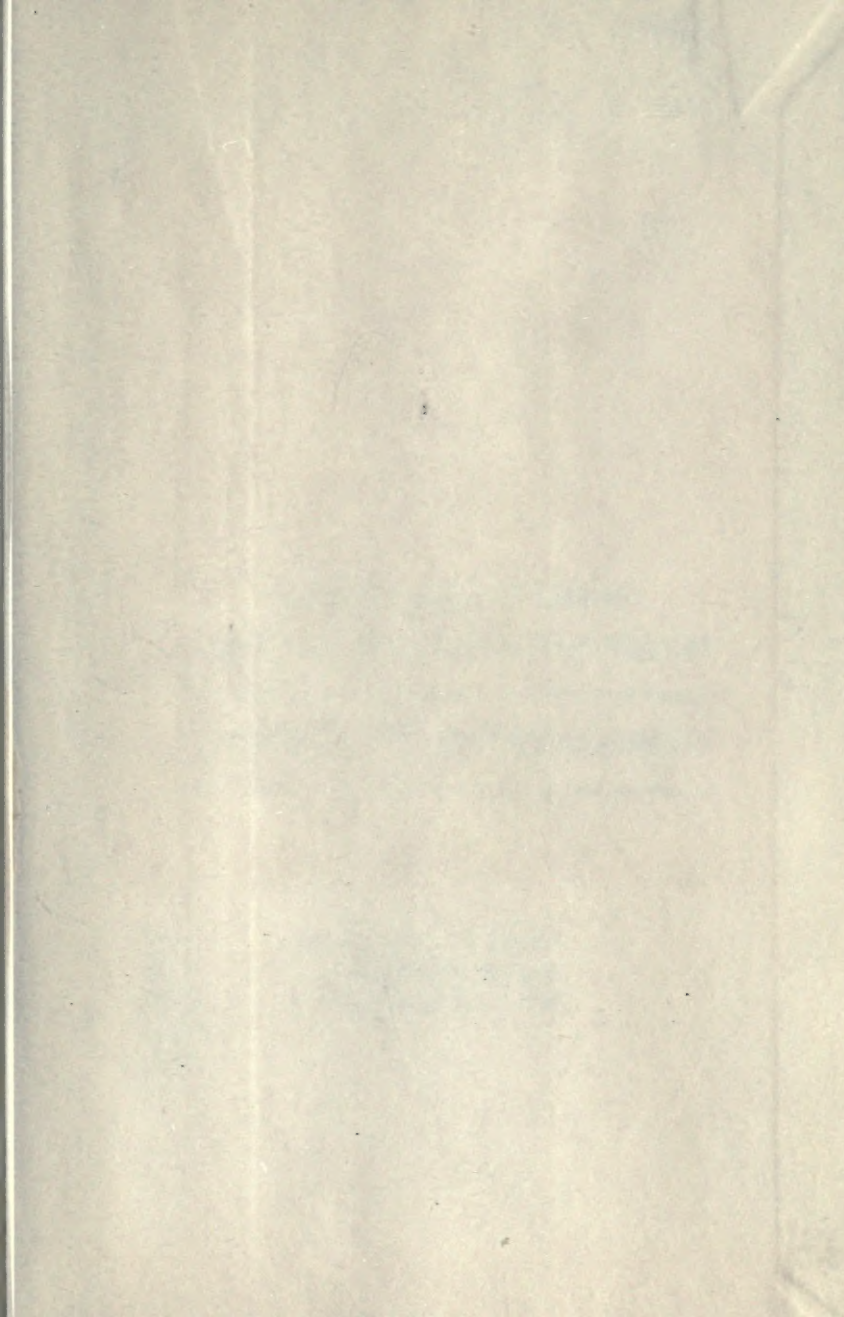














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